WORDS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE
&
TAMIL—LITERARY AND COLLOQUIAL

By

Dr. R. P. SETHU PILLAI, B.A., B.L., D. Litt.
(*Formerly Professor of Tamil, University of Madras*)



UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS

1974

Madras University Tamil Department — Publication — 35

Words and Their Significance

First appeared 1943-44 (Annals of Oriental Research, Vol. 1, Parts 1 & 2)

First edition 1953

Reprint 1974

Tamil—Literary and Colloquial

First appeared 1944-46 (Annals of Oriental Research, Vol. 2, part 2 and Vol. 3, Parts 1 & 2)

First edition 1974

Price: Rs. 12/-

PRINTED IN INDIA

AT AVVAI ACHUKKOODAM, P. V. KOIL STREET, MADRAS-600013.

FOREWORD

Padmasri N. D. SUNDARAVADIVELU, M.A., L.T.,
VICE-CHANCELLOR,
UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS

I am happy to write this foreword to the twin works of Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai, who held with distinction the Chair of Tamil in the University of Madras for about twenty-five years since 1936. Dr. R.P. Sethu Pillai had the rare distinction of being a great scholar and a distinguished writer and at the same time a patron of men of letters. His munificence found expression in the form of Tmt. Sornammal Endowment lectureship instituted in the University of Madras, besides other endowments he made elsewhere for the promotion of Tamil learning and for the welfare of Tamil people. That he was one of the select few, who were the recipients of the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters conferred by the Madras University during the centenary celebrations is an eloquent testimony to the great esteem in which he was held in academic circles and to the unique services rendered by him to the cause of Tamil language, Tamil people and Tamil culture. His scintillating speeches, illuminating lectures and scholarly writings, all in chaste sweet language, gave a fillip and a new turn to the arts of speaking and writing in Tamil. He made such a deep impact on his listeners and readers that a large cross section of the lay public, besides the learned, were made aware of the beauty and sweetness of their language, the antiquity and richness of their literature and sublimity and catholicity of their culture. True to his name, he served as a bridge between the past and the present, between one faith and another, between one region and another and between one language and another.

Even in the domain of Indo-European Linguistics which has received considerable attention over a longer period, Semantics has not received as much attention as Phonology and Morphology. Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai ventured into this unchartered ocean of Semantics and succeeded in giving us pearls collected from the Tamil sea in his 'Words and their significance' which forms the first part of this book. This appeared first in the Annals of Oriental Research Volume I, Parts 1 and 2 in 1943-44 and was later published by the University in 1953. This worka ttempts to find out how the significance of words has undergone changes in the course of centuries due to

historical, social, religious and other reasons. These changes have been analysed and given under the heads of restriction, expansion, degradation, elevation and variation of meanings. Subtle nuances of meaning in words of an allied nature have also been brought out by the author in a lucid manner in this work.

Part II of this book deals with 'Tamil-Literary and Colloquial' by the same author. This appeared first in the Annals of Oriental Research Volume II, Part 2 and volume III, Parts 1 and 2 published in the years 1944-46. The differences between the literary and colloquial forms have been treated under phonetic, grammatical and lexical heads. Words that have crept into Tamil from the Dutch, Portuguese, French, English, Arabic and other languages listed in this work reveal the receptivity of the living language that Tamil is.

The University has in recent years laid greater stress on publishing research works, translations of classical and standard works from Tamil into other languages and vice versa, endowment lectures delivered by eminent men in their respective fields and reprinting earlier publications. The University has been able, with the keen interest evinced by all concerned, to bring out during the past five years as many as 131 publications.

On the suggestion of Dr. N. Sanjeevi, Professor of Tamil, this book in two parts is now reprinted and made available to the scholars and students, particularly those engaged in the study of Dravidian linguistics. In the words of the author himself, "What academies have attempted elsewhere, has been temerariously touched upon in the present pioneer study, in the hope that the attention of scholars may be drawn to this vast field of study, which yet remains to be properly explored."

I hope and trust that erelong, the hope expressed by the author will stand vindicated and many more scholars will pursue the line of study initiated by him and contribute to the enrichment of Dravidian Linguistics.

Madras,
30—12—1974

(Sd.) N. D. SUNDARAVADIVELU,
(*Vice-Chancellor*).

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

A. Arabic.

Braz. Brazilian.

Chin. Chinese.

Dut. Dutch.

E. English.

F. French.

H. Hindustani.

Jap. Japanese.

K. Kanarese

Malay. Malay.

M. Malayalam

Mhr. Marathi.

P. Persian.

Port. Portuguese.

Skt. Sanskrit.

Syr. Syriac.

T. Telugu.

Ta. Tamil.

Tur. Turkish.

Part - I

WORDS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

TO THE FIRST EDITION

It has heen aptly observed that language is both an art and a science. The aesthetics of language, the study of it as an art, as an expression of the human personality in its personal, individual, social, national and human aspects and as a means of communication of one's ideas, sentiments, aspirations, emotions and ideals is the legitimate province of literary criticism. Linguistics, on the other hand, is concerned with the mechanics of expression; with the classification and identification of its component sounds: with the study of the ways in which words get modified according to their function in the sentence; with the construction of the sentence: and finally with the study of the origin, growth and development of its vocabulary. In short, phonology, accidence, syntax and vocabulary are the four wheels of any scientific study of language.

The following pages are primarily concerned with the fourth aspect of linguistics, namely, vocabulary. Even in the study of the word-treasures of a language, there is more than one line of investigation. For instance, one may consider the origin of the words: whether they are native to the language or have been borrowed from some other tongue; if the latter, what modifications the word has undergone during the process of its naturalization in its new environment, and what general principles can be deduced therefrom. One, may again take for study, how the speakers of a language meet new needs and new experiences by coining new words out of the word material that has been their heritage. Or again, one may as the present writer has attempted, try to find out how the significances of words have undergone changes in the course of centuries.

Words are the current coin of a language. And as it happens in regard to coins, their value may fluctuate, the words may get worn out and debased in circulation, or they may even go out of currency. Words may be, in current polite usage, may be conversational only, may be scientific, may be dialectal. But, all these words are quite alive. There are, however, other words which are not so much alive,

which are a trifle old-fashioned, archaic, poetical, literary: or obsoloscent, going gradually out of use, or even quite dead and buried, no longer in use.

Even a dead word, however, is interesting to a student of linguistics as the fossil of a pre-historic monster is interesting to a biologist. *Just as the fossil throws light on earlier forms* of life in this planet, so a word which is out of use, reveals the culture and thought processes of the people who used it. "Between the development of human civilization in general and the *development* of human speech in particular, there is a close connection which it is one of the objects of the Science of language to elucidate. Human civilization in all its manifold *activities and in* all its countless changes manifests itself only by means of words and by means of the expression of thought in language."* If, therefore, language is the autobiography of the human race, *nowhere is the character* clearer than in the changes that have occurred in the meanings of words.

The study of changes of meaning in words is termed semantics; and this study had its greatest exponent in France. Since then this aspect of linguistics has received attention from scholars in various countries. The present attempt to introduce this line of investigation in the study of the Tamil language has been inspired by such works as those of Trench, Vendryes, Breal, Tucker, Kittridge and others. These Scholars had a tremendous advantage; they had ready to their hand, dictionaries in the various languages which gave the successive meanings of words according to the chronology of their usage. All that they had to do was to generalise from recorded data; there was no need for gathering meterial.

No such aid to the study of semantics exists for the student of Tamil. Therefore, the present study has been based on the author's personal reading. Examples have been culled from every century and every writer in order that the progress of a word may be charted down the course of Tamil literature. What academies have attempted else-where, has been temerariously touched upon in the present pioneer study, in the hope, that the attention of scholars may be drawn to this vast field of study which yet remains to be properly explored.

— R. P. SETHU PILLAI.

---

* E. Classen: Outlines of the History of the English Language.

SECTION I.

Language and Culture

Language has been characterised as 'fossil poetry.' "The beautiful thoughts and images, the imagination and feeling of past ages are preserved in words," says Trench. The language of South India is replete with such words.

In the Tamil land where agriculture has been the main occupation of the people from time immemorial, the gentle rain is hailed as the manifestation of Divine mercy. The rain-clouds rolling in the sky fill the hearts of princes and peasants alike with delight. The charming name *eḻili* (எழிலி)[1] is given to the cloud 'big with the promise of fertilising showers.' *Eḻil* (எழில்)[2] is beauty and *eḻili* (எழிலி) denotes a 'thing of beauty.' It is remarkable that *mañju* (மஞ்சு), another word for the cloud, also means beauty.[3] The popular metaphor *mañju tavḻadal* (மஞ்சு தவழ்தல்) used with reference to the moving cloud, bears testimony to the poetic instinct of the peasantry.

The stars sparkling in the sky and the fishes darting through the waters have attracted the admiring gaze of our ancestors who employed the common term *mīn* (மீன்) to denote them. *Vaḍamīṉ* (வடமீன்) is the northern star; *Arumīṉ* (அறுமீன்) is the constellation of six stars; *Purai mīn* (புரைமீன்) is the top star, and so forth.[4] Possible confusion between the fish and the star is avoided by calling the latter *Viṇmīṉ* (விண்மீன்) or *Vāṉmīṉ* (வான்மீன்). "The word

1. எழிலி தானல்காதாகி விடின். திருக்குறள், 17.
2. எரும் வனப்பும் எழிலும் .. ..அழகின் பெயர். பிங்கல நிகண்டு.
3. மஞ்சுடை மணிநகு மாலை மண்டபம்-சூளா. குமார. 17.
4. வடமீன்-அருந்ததி; தீதிலா வடமீனின் திறம்-சிலப், மங்கல. 27 அறுமீன்-கார்த்திகை-பிங்கல நிகண்டு. புரைமீன்-உச்ச நட்சத்திரம, புரைமீன் கூடிய பொழுதியல். பெருங்கதை, உஞ்சை 39, 7. கைம்மீன், ஐம்மீன்-அத்தம்; நெய்மீன்-சித்திரை; மும்மீன்-மிருகசீரிடம்; கடை-மீன்-இரேவதி.

mīṉ has poetry in it" says Dr. Caldwell. "The root of *mīṉ* is '*miṉ*' to glitter, to be phosphorescent, and '*mīṉ*' a verbal noun which is formed from '*mīṉ*' by the lengthening of the included vowel, signifies in poetical Tamil a star, as well as a fish. Who that has seen the phosphorescence flashing from every movement of the fish in tropical seas or lagoons at night, can doubt the appropriateness of denoting the fish that dart and sparkle through the waters, as well as the stars that sparkle in a midnight sky, by one and the same word, *viz.*, a word signifying that which glows or sparkles?"[5]

The imagery that inheres in the names of beasts and birds deserves our attention. The squirrel is a pretty creature of innocent pranks. The triple line, the smart tail, and the swift movements of the squirrel have always been a source of joy to young and old alike. The beauty of the lines on the back of this pretty creature, has inclined poets to trace the hand of Divinity in them.[6] The squirrel is denoted by term '*aṇil*' (அணில்), derived from '*aṇi*' (அணி)—beauty.

Again, the name of the peacock has arisen from the splendour of its lustrous feathers. The graceful dance of the peacock with its gorgeous feathers spread out like an arch, arrests attention and compels admiration. The splendid plumage being the distinctive feature of the peacock, the poetic name '*tōhai*' (தோகை) was conferred on it.[7] The colour of the plumage is signified by the word '*mā*' (மா)[8] in '*mayil*' (மயில்) which is the popular name of the peacock. The shining and foldable feathers were probably deemed by primitive people to serve a double purpose. They not merely enhanced its beauty, but served to protect it from the inclemencies of the weather. The termination '*il*' (இல்) in '*mayil*,' perhaps indicates the shelter which the feathers afforded the bird when necessary.

5. Caldwell's Comparative grammar, pp. 573, 574.
6. It is said that the squirrels contributed their quota of service to the construction of the mighty bridge, now known as Adam's Bridge, in which Rama was vitally interested and the loyal service rendered by them was acknowledged by a gentle pat of the Lord's hand. The three fingers of Rama which caressed their back are said to have left ineffacable lines, which serve to remind posterity of the timely service rendered by these tiny creatures and of the loving recognition accorded to it by the grateful Lord.—Ref. Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi Āḻwār—Tirumālai, 27.
7. Caldwell's Comparative grammar—Int. pp. 88-9.
8. மாயிரும் பீலி மணிநிற மஞ்ஞை-சிலப். மனையறம், 37.

The distinctive feature of the parrot is its capacity to reproduce articulate sounds. This capacity is no doubt very limited but the absence of it in other birds makes it a conspicuous attribute of the parrot. The word '*kiḷi*'(கிளி) which denotes this bird, is derived from '*kiḷa*' (கிள)-to speak-a root from which '*kiḷavi*' (கிளவி) has originated.[9] The sweet speech of the parrot has always evoked the admiration of poets and the affection of women.

Poetry may be discovered in the place-names of South India. Amidst the dust and smoke of the city of Madras, poetry survives in the names of some of its suburbs. *Tiruvallikēṇi* corrupted into Triplicane, is a beautiful name. The original name of the place was '*allikkēṇi*' (அல்லிக்கேணி)-i.e., Lotus-Tank. The prefix '*tiru*' (திரு) which denotes sanctity, was attached to it and thus it became '*Tiru-valli-k-kēṇi*' (திரு வல்லிக்கேணி). It is obvious that the hamlet which grew round the sacred Lotus-Tank has been called after it. Several places in South India have been called after the tanks in the vicinity of which they have arisen. The place-names, *Peruṅguḷam* (பெருங்குளம், *Pudu-k-kuḷam* (புதுக்குளம்), *Pāppāṅguḷam* (பாப்பாங்குளம்), etc., tell their own tale. The Lotus-Tank is a perennial source of inspiration to the poet. But the corrupt form, Triplicane, which has almost displaced the original name, is bereft of beauty and poetry. Similarly *Mayilai* (மயிலை) or *Mayilāppūr* (மயிலாப்பூர்)[10] the place of beautiful peacock, is instinct with poetry, *Eḻumūr* (எழுமூர்)[11] which literally means the rising place, corrupted into *Eḻumbūr* (எழும்பூர்)[12] and Egmore, now forms the main gate-way of the city.

A hamlet on the banks of the *Kāvēri* was named *Mayil-āḍu-tuṟai* (மயிலாடுதுறை)[13] a word which at once raises in our mind, the picture of the dancing peacock and its lovely plumage. This picturesque

9. அளியதாமே சிறுபசுங் கிளியே
குழலும் யாழும் அமிழ்தும் குழைத்தநின்
மழலைக் கிளவிக்கு வருந்தின. சிலப். மனையறம், 57-59.

10. தேவாரம் (திருஞான சம்பந்தர்) மயிலாப்பூர்த்திருப்பதிகம்; மங்குல் மதிதவழ் மாடவீதி மயிலாப்பிலுள்ளார் (திருநாவுக்கரசர், கோயில் திருத் தாண்டகம்)

11. பெரிய நாட்டு மடம் சாசனம்-சோமசுந்தரதேசிகர், செந்தமிழ், 29, பக். 146.

12. Cf. āmūr-āmbūr; kōtumai-kōtumbai; urumu-urumbu (Mal.).

13. தேவாரம் (திருஞானசம்பந்தர், திருநாவுக்கரசர்)-மயிலாடுதுறைத் திருப் பதிகம்.

name was translated into Sanskrit as *Mayūrapuram*; then changed into *Mayūravaram*,[14] and ultimately corrupted into *Māyavaram*.

The Tamil vocabulary furnishes numerous instances of "faded metaphors" which bear the marks of ancient wisdom. "We fail to recognise them, partly from long familiarity with them, partly from insufficient knowledge, partly, it may be, from never having had our attention called to them."[15] The word *nūl* (நூல்) for instance, which signifies a treatise on art or science, is a beautiful metaphor, drawn from the art of spinning. A perception of the resemblance between the work of the spinner and that of the poet has led to the adoption of the term *nūl* (நூல்) to the finished literary product.[16] The spinner operates on the spindle; the poet operates on his imagination. The spinner draws fine yarn out of a bunch of cotton; the poet draws exquisite filaments of thoughts and images from his language. The humming sound of the spinning-wheel fills the heart of the spinner with joy; the music of the verse enthralls the poet.

It is probable that *Nūl* originally denoted only metrical composition, which formed the bulk of ancient Tamil Literature. It was however extended in course of time, to every treatise in verse or prose. It is remarkable that three treatises on Tamil Grammar bear the names *Nannūl* (நன்னூல்), *Cinnūl*, (சின்னூல்), and *Tonnūl* (தொன்னூல்). Kamban seems to suggest the genesis of the word *Nūl*, when he says in the apologetic preface to his great epic 'நொய்தின் நொய்ய சொல் நூற்கலுற்றேன்'[17] "I have entered upon the stupendous task of spinning an epic out of the very scanty words at my command."

Kūḍu (கூடு) is used in poetry with reference to the human body.[18] It is obvious that the metaphor is drawn from bird-life. The mortal coil is discarded by the soul just as the nest (*Kūḍu*) which shelters the bird and enables it to propagate its species, is abandoned by it at will. Fraser observes "Often the soul is conceived as a bird ready to take flight. This conception has probably left traces in most languages, and it lingers as a metaphor in poetry. But what is metaphor to a modern

14. P and V are interchangeable in Tamil—(Paṇḍi-Vaṇḍi; Apayam-Avayam; Vaccanāpi-Paccanāvi).
15. The study of words (Trench)—P. 46.
16. நன்னூல்-பொதுப்பாயிரம், 24; இறையனாரகப் பொருள் உரை, ப. 12-13.
17. கம்பராமாயணம், பாயிரம், 8.
18. கூடலான் கூடாயினான்-சிலப். வழக்குரை-வெண்பா.

European poet was sober earnest to his savage ancestor and is still so to many people."[19]

The poetic instinct of the ancient Tamil race is reflected in the terms that the grammarians have chosen to employ for denoting the vowels and consonants of the Tamil alphabet. The vowel is known as *uyir-eḻuttu* (உயிர் எழுத்து) and the consonant *mey-eḻuttu* (மெய் எழுத்து). This nomenclature is based upon a perception of the nature of the two classes of sounds in the Tamil phonetic system. The vowel-consonant, which as the name indicates is a product of the combination of vowel and consonant, is called *uyir-mey* (உயிர்மெய்), the animated body. This graceful metaphor has called forth the appreciation of "the father of Dravidian Philology."[20]

The terms that denote the sexes in Tamil are indicative of their distinctive characteristics. *Āṇmai* (ஆண்மை) - manhood, is derived from the verbal base *āḷ* (ஆள்) which connotes strength or power and *Peṇmai* (பெண்மை)—womanhood, is derived from the root *peḷ* (பெள்) which signifies love or beauty. This view is confirmed by the fact that *maindaṉ* (மைந்தன்) and *āḍavaṉ* (ஆடவன்) denote the possession of strength[21] and *pūvai* (பூவை) and *kārihai* (காரிகை) signify the possession of physical charms.[22] " Beauty in women and heroism in men were mutual attractions and cements of love between lovers in the palmy days of the Tamil Country. "[23]

A perception of the resemblance between the tender creeper and the young girl has given rise to exquisite metaphors. *Valli* (வல்லி) and its variant *vaḷḷi* (வள்ளி) and *koḍi* (கொடி) are poetical names for the tender girl. The maturity or puberty attained by the girl is signified by the expressive metaphor *pūppu* (பூப்பு) — bloom.[24] The ancient Tamils considered that the physical charms of virtuous maidens attracted the attention of virile men, even as the natural beauty of the

19. Golden Bough—Part II, pp. 33-4.
20. Caldwell's Comparative grammar, p. 132.
21. மைந்தன் (மைந்து-வலிமை). மகிழ்ச்சியின் மைந்துறும் போழ்து—திருக்குறள், 539. ஆடவன்-(ஆள்)-ஆணமகன். Tamil Lexicon.
22. பூவை-perh. பூ-(பூ-7 beauty, charm)—Tamil Lexicon. காரிகை-கண்ணிறைந்த காரிகை-திருக்குறள், 1272.
23. Critical Studies in Kuṟaḷ, p. 19.
24. பூப்பின் புறப்பா டீராறு நாளும்-தொல். பொருள், 187.

fragrant flowers attracted the humming bees.[25] Fragrance is denoted by the term *maṇam* (மணம்) and *maṇattal*[26] means the act of enjoying fragrance. It is significant that the happy union of man and woman is denoted by the term *maṇam* (மணம்).

Marriage was not looked upon as an end in itself; it was only a means to an end. The analogy therefore is carried beyond the stage of matrimony. The offspring are cherished as the fruits of wedded love[27] and hence abortion is denoted by the term *kāy* (காய்),[28] *i. e.*, unripe fruit. These beautiful metaphors testify to the poetic sense of the ancient Tamils.

The high level of moral excellence attained by the Tamil community is attested by the synonyms *uṇmai* (உண்மை) *vāymai* (வாய்மை) and *meymmai* (மெய்ம்மை) which are obviously related to thought, word and deed. *Uṇmai* (உண்மை) derived from the root *uḷ* (உள்) literally means the quality of the mind. Similarly the words *vāymai* (வாய்மை) and *meymmai* (மெய்ம்மை) are abstract nouns derived from *vāy* (வாய்) and *mey* (மெய்) and signify the quality of the tongue and the quality of the body respectively. The derivation of these terms clearly indicates that honesty in thought, word and action was considered to be of the essence of virtuous life, in the ancient unsophisticated society. Truth was regarded as the fountain of honour and was the index of an unsullied mind.[29] The expression *mey-p-poruḷ* (மெய்ப் பொருள்) used with reference to the Lord, indicates that there is no religion higher than truth.[30]

The destructive character of evil is clearly expressed by the term *tīmai* (தீமை) which literally means the 'quality of fire.' The etymological sense of the word is suggested in the couplet:

25. வண்டோரனையர் ஆடவர் பூவோரனையர் மகளிர்-இறையனாரகப் பொருளுரை-ப. 181.

பெண்டிர் நலம்வெளவித் தண்சாரற் றாதுண்ணும்
வண்டிற்றுறப்பான் மலை-கலித்தொகை; உரை, ப. 234, அடிக்குறிப்பைப் பார்க்க.

26. திருந்திழைமென்றோள் மணந்தவன்-கலித். 131.

27. மங்கல மென்ப மனைமாட்சி மற்றதன்
நன்கல னன்மக்கட் பேறு-திருக்குறள், 60.

28. Kāy—aborted foetus; kāy-viḻutal—கருச்சிதைந்து விழுதல். — Tamil Lexicon.

29. அகந்தூய்மை வாய்மையாற் காணப்படும். திருக்குறள், 298.

30. கற்றீண்டு மெய்ப்பொருள் கண்டார்—திருக்குறள், 356.

தீயவை தீய பயத்தலாற் றீயவை
தீயினு மஞ்சப் படும்[31]

"Evil is dreaded more than fire, since evils new from evils ever grow." The Pāṇḍya king who caused the innocent Kōvalan̲ to be murdered, is characterised as *Tī-vēndan̲ (தீ வேந்தன்)*[32]—the evil king-by Kaṇṇahi. When in a state of intense agony, she directed the god of fire to destroy the city which had become the den of evil, she referred to the wicked section thereof as *tī-ttir̲attār (தீத்திறத்தார்).*[33] *Tīttir̲am (தீத்திறம்)* is the opposite of *nar̲r̲ir̲am (நற்றிறம்)*[34]. The nature of evil disclosed by the term *tīmai (தீமை)* may be described in the words of Milton:

"But evil on itself shall back recoil,
And mix no more with goodness, when at last
Gathered like scum, and settled to itself,
It shall be in eternal restless change
Self-fed and self-consumed."[35]

The word *kaṇ* (கண்) which denotes the organ of vision, has formed the basis of several significant terms expressive of human feelings. The eye is said to be the index of the emotions surging in the human mind. *In̲-kaṇ* (இன்கண்) is expressive of delight; *Pun̲-kaṇ (புன்கண்)* is expressive of distress; *Tar̲ukaṇ* (தறுகண்) denotes cruelty and *ur̲ukaṇ* (உறுகண்) denotes affliction.[36] The abstract noun, *kaṇmai* (கண்மை) derived from *kaṇ* (கண்) signifies compassion.[37] Contact between the human mind and the external world is established chiefly through the eye. The world is for the most part filled with misery and distress, and the mind is moved by the pathos of life conveyed through the eye. Tears are the visible signs of the mind moved by distress. Hence sympathy is regarded as the natural quality of the

31. *திருக்குறள்*, 202.
32. *தீவேந்தன் தனைக்கண்டு இத்திறங்கேட்பல்-சிலப், ஊர்சூழ்*, 71.
33. *தீத்திறத்தார் பக்கமே சேர்க-சிலப், வஞ்சின*. 55.
34. *நற்றிறம் படராக் கொற்கை வேந்தே-சிலப், வழக்குரை*. 66.
35. Comus, 593-97.
36. *இன்கண்—இன்கண் உடைத்து அவர் பார்வல்—திருக்குறள்*, 1152.
புன்கண்—புள்ளுறு புன்கண் தீர்த்தோன்—சிலப், வழக்குரை. 52.
தறுகண்—பேராண்மை யென்ப தறுகண்—திருக்குறள், 773.
உறுகண்—உறுகணோம்பல்—தொல—பொருள். 239.
அலக்கண், இடுக்கண், பழங்கண் = துன்பம் ; வன்கண் = கொடுமை.
37. *பிங்கல நிகண்டு*.

eye. It has been said that the eye devoid of sympathy is unworthy of the name.[38] *Kaṇṇōṭṭam (கண்ணோட்டம்)* which literally means sight or glance has acquired the sense of kindliness.[39] The expression *kaṇ-pārttal (கண் பார்த்தல்)* denotes sympathetic attitude. Similarly *kaḍai-k-kaṇittal* (கடைக்கணித்தல்)—glancing with the corner of the eye[40] — connotes a favourable disposition. *Puṟa-k-kaṇittal* (புறக் கணித்தல்), on the other hand, denotes neglect.

In the primitive state of society in South India, the steel yard known as *Tulākkōl* (துலாக்கோல்) served the purpose of the modern balance. The normal position of the steel yard was called *samaṉ* (சமன்) or *naḍu-nilai* (நடுநிலை) and this position was ascertained by holding the instrument aloft by a string attached to it. When a commodity was put into the scale-pan suspended at one end of the steel yard for the purpose of determining its weight, the string was adjusted until the instrument resumed its normal position. Thus by the simple process of balancing the steel yard, the weight of a commodity was ascertained. The act of suspending the weighing instrument by the string is known as *eḍuttal* (எடுத்தல்) or *tūkkal* (தூக்கல்). Thus the words *eḍai* (எடை) and *tūkku* (தூக்கு)[42] used by vendors of commodi ties are reminiscent of the old practice of suspending the steel yard. The act of balancing is called *niṟuttal* (நிறுத்தல்) or *niṟai* (நிறை).

These terms have been metaphorically applied to the conditions of the mind. *Naḍu nilai* (நடுநிலை) denotes impartiality or uprightness. A dispassionate consideration of the pros and cons of a question is denoted by the term *tūkkal* (தூக்கல்).[43] A comparison of merits or values is signified by the expression *cīr-tūkkal* (சீர் தூக்கல்)[44]. Integrity is denoted by the term *niṟai* (நிறை).[45]

38. கண்ணோட்ட மில்லவர் கண்ணிலர்—திருக்குறள், 577.
39. திருக்குறள்—அதி, 58.
40. கடைக்கண் = கடாட்சம் < kaṭākṣa (Skt.).
41. சமன்செய்து சீர் தூக்கும் கோல்-திருக்குறள், 118.
42. A tūkku ordinarily signifies a weight equal to hundred palams—Tamil Lexicon.
43. வினைவலியும் தன்வலியும் மாற்றான் வலியும்
துணைவலியும் தூக்கிச் செயல்—திருக்குறள், 471.
44. மன்னனும் மாசறக் கற்றோனும் சீர் தூக்கின்—மூதுரை. 26.
45. அறிவொடு நிறையே ஒர்ப்புக்கடைப்பிடி குணநான்காமே —சூடாமணி நிகண்டு.

The images inherent in the words *cemmai* (செம்மை)—straightness, and *koḍumai* (கொடுமை)—crookedness, form the bases of significant moral concepts.[46] In the moral sphere *cemmai* (செம்மை) signifies good and *koḍumai* (கொடுமை) denotes evil. *Ceppam* (செப்பம்) derived from *cemmai* (செம்மை) indicates uprightness[47] and *kōṭṭam* (கோட்டம்) derived from *koḍumai* (கொடுமை) signifies moral perversity. The king who rules the country with a straight sceptre is styled *ceṅgōlaṉ* (செங்கோலன்)[48] and the tyrant who rules the country with a crooked sceptre is called *koḍuṅgōlaṉ* (கொடுங்கோலன்). Benevolent administration is *ceṅgōṉmai* (செங்கோன்மை) and tyranny is *koḍuṅgōṉmai* (கொடுங்கோன்மை). "It is better," says the poet, "to live in jungles infested with ferocious tigers than to live under a king who rules with a crooked sceptre."[49] The standard language of South India which is free from irregularities and which has well-defined grammatical boundaries is known as *Centamiḻ (செந்தமிழ்)* and the dialect of Tamil which is replete with grammatical and idiomatic irregularities is called *Koḍuntamiḻ* (கொடுந்தமிழ்).[50] The expression *cemboruḷ* (செம்பொருள்)[51] used with reference to the Supreme Being signifies His absolute impartiality and justice.

The original sense of the word *kōḍu* (கோடு) derived from *koḍumai* (கொடுமை) is an oblique or curved line. It is significant that *kōḍu* (கோடு) stands for several objects that are irregular in shape or form. The branch of a tree and the bank of a river; the horn and the hill; the chank and the crescent moon are some of the objects denoted by the term. In modern usage, however, *kōḍu (கோடு)* means generally a line and a straight line is called *nēr kōḍu* (நேர் கோடு), which is etymologically a contradiction in terms.

The distinction between *Aham* (அகம்) - within - and *Puṟam* (புறம்) —without-is fundamental in South Indian thought and forms the basis of primary classification in Tamil Literature. "The idea of within and without," says Vendryes, "is expressed in most Indo-European langu-

46. Cf. the Roman conception of good and evil—"What is good: that which goes straight and in order; what is crooked becomes the symbol of all perversity." (Semantics by Breal p. 123).
47. சொற்கோட்ட மில்லது செப்பம்—திருக்குறள், 119.
48. செம்மனத்தான் தண்ணளியான் செங்கோலான்—நள—சுயம்வர. 46.
49. கொடுங்கோல் மன்னன் ஆளும் நாட்டிற்கடும்புலிவாழும்காடு நன்றே.
50. Koduntamil is used by Beschi in the sense of the colloquial dialect of Tamil.
51. சிறப்பென்னும் செம்பொருள்—திருக்குறள், 358.

ages by the contrast of house and field. This reveals a social condition in which the entire family was lodged in the same house, and where the outer door marked the boundary of the family domin."[52] In Tamil, *ahattāṉ* (அகத்தான்) and *ahamuḍaiyāṉ* (அகமுடையான்) denote the master of the house; *Ahattāḷ* (அகத்தாள்) and *ahamuḍaiyāḷ* (அகமுடையாள்)[53] the mistress of the house. *Puṟattāṉ* (புறத்தான்)[54] -outsider-is the opposite of *ahattāṉ*. *Ahappaḍutal* (அகப்படுதல்)[55] is the act of getting in and *puṟappaḍutal* (புறப்படுதல்) is the act of getting out; *Ahappahai* (அகப்பகை) is internal enmity and *puṟappahai* (புறப்பகை) is external enmity. In the world of flowers, distinction is drawn between *aha itaḻ* (அக இதழ்) and *puṟa itaḻ* (புற இதழ்). In the world of plants *aha-k-kāḻ* (அகக்காழ்) is distinguished from *puṟa-k-kāḻ* (புறக்காழ்).[56] In the world of religion, distinction is drawn between *aha-c-camayam* (அகச்சமயம்) and *puṟa-c-camayam* (புறச்சமயம்).

All the activities of mankind have been brought under this classification in Tamil Literature. Love, furtive and wedded, forms the theme of *ahapporuḷ* (அகப்பொருள்). War and other external activities of man form the subject-matter of *puṟapporuḷ* (புறப்பொருள்).

In primitive society there was perhaps no place for neutrality. The old saying "He that is not with me is against me" is probably illustrated by the words which denote amity and enmity in Tamil. *Cērndār* (சேர்ந்தார்), *Kūḍiṉār* (கூடினார்), *oṉṟiṉār* (ஒன்றினார்), *pulliṉār* (புல்லினார்) are words which contain the sense of adherence, and denote friends. *Cērār* (சேரார்), *kūḍār* (கூடார்), *oṉṟār* (ஒன்றார்), *pullār* (புல்லார்) are words which carry the idea of separation and denote enemies. It is significant that the word *ayalāṉ* (அயலான்) denotes a stranger as well as an enemy.[57]

The distinction between the mind and the body is also expressed by the terms *Aham* and *Puṟam*. As the mind was supposed to dwell

52. Language, p. 210.
53. Āmbaḍayāṉ (Husband) and āmbaḍayāḷ (wife) are corruptions of ahamuḍayāṉ and ahamuḍayāḷ.
54. Puṟattiyāṉ (புறத்தியான்)—Stranger—is a corruption of puṟattāṉ.
55. Ahāppaḍutal is commonly used to denote 'the act of being caught or entangled'—(அகப்பட்டீர் கிடந்துழல அகப்பட்டீர் நீரே)
56. புறக்காழனவே புல்லென மொழிப
அகக்காழனவே மரமென மொழிப-தொல். பொருள். 640.
57. அயலார் ஊரில் அஞ்சிலே ஒன்றை வைத்தான். கம்ப. காப்பு. 7.

inside the body it was denoted by the terms *uḷ* (உள்), *uḷḷam* (உள்ளம்) and *aham* (அகம்); and the body was called *puṟam* (புறம்). *Aham-tūymai* (அகம் தூய்மை) is purity of the mind and *puṟam-tūymai* (புறம் தூய்மை) is purity of the body.[58] *Aham* and *puṟam* are also used in the restricted sense of breast[58a] and back. The expression *Puṟaṅgāṭṭal* (புறங்காட்டல்) signifies discomfiture as turning the back to the enemy is a sign of acknowledging defeat. Thus it will be seen that the distinction between *Aham* and *Puram* has influenced the whole range of Tamil thought.

The classification of humanity into *mākkaḷ* (மாக்கள்) and *makkaḷ* (மக்கள்) testifies to the high level of intellectual life attained by the ancient Tamil society. The animate world is divided into six classes in *Tolkāppiyam*, on the basis of the sensory organs of living creatures.[59] From the plant-life endowed with one sense, to the animal life gifted with five senses, different categories of life exist which have been duly recognised and arranged in the ancient Tamil grammar.[60] The distinctive feature of humanity is the possession of the sixth sense, *viz*., the sense of the mind or reason. Hence the section of humanity in which the sense of the mind is not awakened is placed in the category of beasts. In literary usage, *makkaḷ* denotes rational beings and *mākkaḷ* signifies human beings devoid of reason. This distinction has been adopted in the classification of nouns in the Tamil Grammar. "Dravidian nouns are divided into two classes, which Tamil grammarians denote by the technical terms of '*high-caste*' (உயர்திணை) and '*casteless*' (அஃறிணை) nouns. 'High-caste' nouns are those which denote "the celestial and infernal deities and human beings (மக்கள்) or briefly, all things endowed with reason. The other class of nouns called 'casteless,' includes every thing which is destitute of reason whether animate or inanimate. This classification of nouns though not so imaginative as that of Indo-European and Semitic tongues, is decidedly more philosophical."[61]

There are common terms in colloquial Tamil which seems to show that the ancient Tamils were acquainted with the structure and functions of the vocal organs. The term *Kural-vaḷai* (குரல்வளை)

58. *திருக்குறள், 298.*
58a. Tamil Lexicon.
59. *தொல். பொருள். 582.*
60. *தொல். பொருள். 587, 588.*
61. Caldwell's Comparative grammar, p. 220.

corrupted into *Kuda-vaḷai* (குதவளை) literally means voice-curve. It designates the projection of the larynx which contains the vocal chords.[61a] "The current of air expelled by the lungs while causing the vocal chords to vibrate gives rise to the voice." A correct knowledge of the position and function of the vocal chords in the mechanism of speech has included the early Tamils to designate the projection of the larynx, popularly known as Adam's apple by a term which is expressive of its essential function. It is significant that *caṅgu* (சங்கு) which denotes the conch-shell is metaphorically applied to the human throat.

In the popular dialect of the South, saliva is denoted by the term *tuppu-nīr* (துப்பு நீர்). *Tuppu* (துப்பு) is an obsolute word used in Tamil poetry in the sense of 'food'. It is possible that an appreciation of the part played by saliva in the assimilation of food has led to the adoption of this name.[62]

The predominantly agricultural character of the Tamil country is reflected in the variety of terms relating to water-pools. A natural pond is *poyhai* (பொய்கை); a natural spring is *ūṟṟu* (ஊற்று); a tank of small size is *kēṇi* (கேணி); a tank of medium size is *kuḷam* (குளம்); a rain-fed tank is *vāṉa-māri-k-kuḷam* (வானமாரிக்குளம்), corrupted into *māṉā-māri-k-kuḷam* (மானாமாரிக்குளம்); a tank of big size or lake is *ēri* (ஏரி); a tank in the hilly tract is *cuṉai* (சுனை); a tank of great depth is *kayam* (கயம்); a tank situated in the midst of a hamlet in which water is stored for drinking purposes is *ūruṇi* (ஊருணி).[63] The names of villages terminating in *ēri* and *kuḷam* are additional proof of the primary occupation of the people of South India.[64]

61a. Tamil Lexicon.

62. Salivary digestion results in an almost complete alteration of the starch into dextrose and maltose. Principles of Human Physiology-Starling—p.528. The final semi-vowrel in tuppunīr is elided in qronunciatin.

Cf. Vennīr (வெந்நீர்) > Venni (வெந்நி)
Taṇṇīr (தண்ணீர்) > Taṇṇi (தண்ணி)
Iḷanīr (இளநீர்) > Iḷani (இளநி)
Padanīr (பதநீர்) > Padani (பதநி) or Padini (பதிநி).

63. Besides these, paḍu (படு) and maḍu (மடு); vāvi (வாவி) and ilañji (இலஞ்சி); taḍam (தடம்) and kuṭṭam (குட்டம்) are used with reference to different kinds of tanks.

64. Nāṅguṉēri, (நாங்குனேரி), Pāhaṉēri (பாகனேரி), Peruṅguḷam (பெருங்குளம்), Ceṅguḷam (செங்குளம்).

The large number of metaphors drawn from plant-life furnis striking evidence of the charming natural scenery in the midst of which the primitive people of this country lived. *Muḷai* (முளை) and *kiḷai* (கிளை); *talai* (தழை) and *Kūlai* (குழை); *malar* (மலர்) and *alar* (அலர்); *koḍi* (கொடி) and *kombu* (கொம்பு); *kāy* (காய்) and *kaṉi* (கனி) are drawn from the terminology of plant-life and metaphorically applied to denote objects relating to human life. *Kāṉmuḷai* (கான்முளை) is off-spring; *Kiḷaiññar* (கிளைஞர்) is relation; *Talaittal* (தழைத்தல்) is exuberance; *kuḻaittal* (குழைத்தல்) is waving; *malarcci* (மலர்ச்சி) is cheerfulness, *Alar* (அலர்) is widespread rumour; *Pūṅgoḍi* (பூங்கொடி) and *pūṅgombu* (பூங்கொம்பு) denote the tender girl; *Kāy* (காய்) is failure and *kaṉi* (கனி) is success. This list is not exhaustive but only illustrative.

The pre-eminent place assigned to agricultural occupation in the social economy of South India is discernible in certain expressions consecrated by literary usage. The plough in ancient times was cherished as the symbol of prosperity. The tiller who handled the plough was considered a greater benefactor than the warrior who wielded the lance. Hence the brilliant lancer is styled *ayil uḻavaṉ* (அயில் உழவன்)[65] which literally means the plough-man of the lance. Similarly *vāḷ-uḻavaṉ* (வாள் உழவன்)[66] is used with reference to the soldier wielding the sword. Tiruvaḷḷuvar has chosen to characterise the poets as *col-ēr-uḻavar* (சொல் ஏருழவர்) and the archers as *vil-ēr-uḻavar* (வில் ஏருழவர்).[67] These expressions employed by poets of great eminence afford striking evidence of the profound respect in which the ploughman was held in the palmy days of the Tamil land.

The words denoting the diverse operations connected with agriculture have acquired remarkable significance in the moral and social spheres of life. *Kaḷaital* (களைதல்)-removal, owes its origin to the practice of removing weeds (களை) which impede the growth of the seedlings. *Viḷaivu* (விளைவு) in the sense of result or consequence is obviously related to *viḷaiyuḷ* (விளையுள்) or *viḷaivu* (விளைவு), which signifies agricultural produce. *Tūṟṟutal* (தூற்றுதல்) in the sense of broadcast, probably owes its significance to the act of casting to the winds the corn mixed with chaff and straw at the threshing floor in order to

65. சிந். 2261.

66. வாளுழவன்=வாள்வீரன் (Tamil Lexicon), படைவீரன் (திவாகரம்), தாளைத் தலைவன் (சூடாமணி நிகண்டு).

67. திருக்குறள், 872.

separate them.[68] *Vēḷāṇmai* (வேளாண்மை) which denotes cultivation has acquired the sense of hospitality.[69]

The climatic conditions of the Tamil country are conducive to simplicity in dress. The barks of trees and the hides of animals generally formed the material of primitive human dress. An old poem speaks of sages clad in *cīrai* (சீரை)-bark, and *urivai* (உரிவை)-skin.[70] *Cīlai* (சீலை), a term now restricted to the apparel of women is probably a variant of *cīrai.*[71] Sītā is said to have dressed herself in *cīrai* (சீரை) when she followed her lord in his exile.[72] *Puṭavai* (புடவை) or *Puḍaivai* (புடைவை) another word signifying the long cloth worn by women, seems to have originated in Malainādu. *Puda* (புத) in Malayāḷam means to cover.[73] The expression *Pudaiyiruḷ* (புதையிருள்) in Cilappadihāram signifies enveloping or shrouding darkness. *Pudai* (புதை) in the sense of cover, is according to the classical commentator of *Cilappadihāram,* a dialect of Malainādu (Malayāḷam).[74] *Pudappu* (புதப்பு) a verbal noun derived from *Puda,* denotes a covering or blanket in Malayāḷam.[75] *Pudavai* (புதவை) may be formed from the same root by the addition of another suffix of the verbal noun. It is probable that *Pudavai* (புதவை) has changed into *Puṭavai* (புடவை) by the substitution of the cerebral for the medial dental.[76] It is significant that the presentation of the *Puṭavai* to the bride constitutes the essence of the marriage ceremony in Malabar. *Puṭava Koṭa* (புடவ கொட) commonly corrupted into *Puṭakoṭa* (புட கொட) which literally means the gift of *Puṭava* or cloth, still forms an essential feature in the Malabar marriage.

It is probable that the original form of *Tukil* (துகில்) - cloth - was *tuyil* (துயில்). The literal sense of *Tuyil* - (tuy-cotton) is cotton

68. காற்றுள்ளபோதே தூற்றிக்கொள்-பழமொழி.
69. திருக்குறள், 81.
70. சீரை தைஇய உடுக்கையர்-திருமுரு. 126. மானின் உரிவை தைஇய ஊன் கெடு மார்பு-திருமுரு. 129.
71. r and l are interchangeable in Tamil. It is also possible that cēlai and cīlai are corruptions of the Skt. cēla.
72. சீரை சுற்றித் திருமகள் பின்செல-கம்ப. நகர் நீங்கு. 234.
73. Final a (அ) of Malayalam becomes ai (ஐ) in Tamil; hence Puda (Ma)—Pudai (Ta)
74. புதைத்தல்=போர்த்தல்-மலைநாட்டு வழக்கு-சிலப். இந்திர. 4, அடியார்க்கு நல்லார் உரை.
75. Gundert's Malayalam Dictitionary.
76. Cf. Padāhai (பதாகை); Paḍāhai (படாகை).

fabric.[77] In Malayāḷam *tuyil* signifies cotton cloth.[78] A place in South India noted for the manufacture of *tuyil* (துயில்) came to be called *Tuyili* (துயிலி). It is curious that *tuyili* is now used to designate the cloth of a particular texture woven at the place called *Tuyili*. The analogous history of the cloth known as *Koranāḍ* may be considered in this connection. *Koranād* is a corruption of *Kūṟai-nāḍu* (கூறை நாடு) - a place where cloth is manufactured. The term *Koranāḍ*, however, now denotes a particular pattern of cloth manufactured at *Kornāḍ* in the vicinity of Mayavaram.

Tuyil (துயில்) has become *tukil* (துகில்) by the change of the medial '*y*' (ய) into '*k*' (க) - a change which does not militate against the phonetic tendencies of the Dravidian Languages.[79] It is natural that *tukil* (துகில்) which primarily denoted white cotton cloth was later extended to coloured cotton fabrics.[80]

The origin of Jewellry may perhaps be sought in the devices adopted by primitive men to ward off influence of evil spirits, which were supposed to be responsible for most of the diseases of the human body and mind. Propitiation by periodical sacrifices was one of the modes of appeasing their wrath and the additional device of avoiding their evil influence by the spell of magical incantation was also widely adopted. The invisible spirits were deemed to be subject to the control of some mystic letters or symbols, the import of which was known only to the initiated few. The mystic symbols were inscribed on a scroll of palm-leaf, attached to a thread or string, and tied round the waist, wrist, ankle or other parts of the body. As these appendages served the purpose of resisting the evil influence of the unseen powers, they were known as *taḍaiyam* (தடையம்), *taḍai* - obstruction, a word which still signifies jewellry in the speech of the South Indian peasantry. In course of time, the threads or strings to which the amulets were attached came to be made of glittering metals and the

77. *துய்=பஞ்சு-துய்த்தலை மந்திபை-புறநா. 158.*

78. Gundert's Malayalam Dictionary.

79. Vaiyai-vaikai (vaihai)

Ellai-Elkai (Elhai)

Vāyil (doorway)-Vākili (T), Bāgil (K), Bākil (Tu); Ūḻiyam (service)-ūḍigamu (T), ūḷiga (K).

80. *கோபத்தன்ன தோயாப் பூந்துகில்-திருமுரு. 15.*

scroll of palm-leaf bearing the mystic symbols was enclosed in metallic cases.[81]

This view of the origin of jewellry receives confirmation from the primary sense of the word *pūṇ* (பூண்) which signifies ornament in poetry. The metallic ring or cap which serves to keep the ends of a thing intact, is commonly known as *pūṇ*.[82] The wooden pestle for instance, used for the purpose of pounding corn, is usually fitted with a ferrule (*pūṇ*) to protect it against wear and tear. The futility of endeavouring to preserve a thing which is by nature perishable, is expressed in the familiar saying

'வெள்ளரிப் பழத்துக்குப் பூண் பிடித்தால் ஆகுமா'

"can the cucumber fruit be preserved by metallic bands?"[83] Thus it will be seen that the original purpose of *pūṇ* (பூண்) was to protect the wearer against the influence of evil powers. The jewel called *aimbaḍai* (ஐம்படை) five weapons, seems to establish this point beyond the possibility of a doubt. "The gold pendant worn by children in a necklace, bearing in relief the five weapons of Viṣṇu as an amulet"[84] is known as *aimbaḍai*. It is probable that the weapons of Viṣṇu are embossed on the jewel as He is the God of protection in Hindu mythology.

The origin of the term *Kāppu* (காப்பு)[85]-bangle-may be considered in this connection. *Kāppu* is derived from the root '*kā*' (to protect). The ceremony of invocation to the deity to protect a child is known as *kāppiḍutal* (காப்பிடுதல்). A string dyed with saffron is tied round the wrist of the child on the occasion. The expression *kāppu-nāṇ* (காப்பு நாண்) signifies the string of protection tied round the wrist of persons participating in ceremonial functions. The significance of the

81. "Very frequently men have fastened round their upper arm the Nōmbu-kayiṟu (sacred cord) attached to which is the Tyayathu, holding the copper plate with mantrams (spells) engraved on them"--The Personal ornaments of the Madrasi--M. C. C. M. Sept. 1913.

82. பூண்-உலக்கை தடி முதலியவற்றின் முனையிற் செறித்த வளையம்.-Tamil Lexicon.

83. The secondary sense of pūṇ is armour--See Tamil Lexicon.

84. ஐம்படைச் சதங்கை சாத்தி, பெரியபுராணம், தடுத்தாட். 4.
For the meaning of aimbaḍai, refer to Tamil Lexicon.

85. காசொடு தொடுத்த காப்புக்கலன்புனை அரைஞாண்-பெரியபுராணம், கண். 21.

term *kāppu-nāṇ* is expressed in the tragic words addressed to Kaikēsi by the King Dasaratha, "Let *the string* of your neck (*tāli*) serve as the string of protection for your son (Bharatā)."[86]

The waist-band known as *arai-nāṇ* (அரை நாண்)[87] literally means the waist string. The devaluation of *nāṇ* due to semantic wear and tear, has led to the addition of the work *koḍi* (கொடி) to *arai-nāṇ* in the popular dialect. *Arai-nāṇ-koḍi* (அரை நாண் கொடி) has been corrupted into *aranākkoḍi* (அரநாக்கொடி). To this waist-cord a talisman is sometimes attached.

The names of some of the jewels still worn by women in South India seem to disclose their original purpose. A jewel worn on the ear-lobes of women is known as *muḍiccu* (முடிச்சு)-i.e., knot.[88] In ancient times, knots have been used as amulets in different parts of the world.[89] The ancient Assyrians seem to have made much use of knotted cords as a remedy for ailments and diseases. In Russia amulets often derived their protective power in great measure from knots. In Ceylon the Singhalese peasants use the knot as 'Goigote' to prevent the devils from diminishing the quantity of corn heaped on the threshing floor during the harvest. With regard to the efficacy of the knot as an amulet, Fraser observes, "The precise mode in which the virtue of the knot is supposed to take effect in some of the instances does not clearly appear. But in general we many say that in all the cases we have been considering, the leading characteristics of the magic knot or lock is, that, in strict accordance with its physical nature, it always acts as an impediment, hindrance or obstacle and that its influence is maleficent or beneficent according as the thing which it impedes or hinders is good or evil."[90]

86. கழுத்தின் நாணுன் மகற்குக் காப்பின் நாணும் என்றான்-கம்ப. நகர் நீங்கு. 49.

87. செம்பொன்நாண் அரையில் மின்ன-பெரியபுராணம், தடுத்தாட். 4.

88. Another jewel worn round the neck is called muḍiccu-k-kāṟai (முடிச்சுக் காறை). It has a number of large metal beads strung on the band and attached to the front side, so as to lie beneath the chin under which it is fastened.—The Personal ornaments of the Madrasi; M. C. C. M., September, 1913.

89. See Fraser's 'Golden Bough' Part II, ch. 5, Sec. 11.

90. Golden Bough, Part II, pp. 309-10.

There is reason to believe that most of these primitive appendages consisted of threads and strings.[91] The most significant jewel of the married woman-the *taḻi*-was originally a simple thread to which probably a knot was attached. The name *nūl* (நூல்) by which *tāli* is known reveals its primitive quality. The deprivation of this thread marks the commencement of widowhood.[92] It is significant that the word *iḻai* (இழை) denotes a thread as well as a jewel.

With the discovery of metals, rings made of iron came to be used as amulets against demons, witches and ghosts. The ring is known as *āḻi* (ஆழி). The etymological significance of the word, perhaps indicates the purpose for which the ring was originally devised. *Āḻi* (ஆழி) is derived from the root '*aḻi* (அழி) - to destory. The purpose of destroying the maleficent influence of the evil spirits is perhaps denoted by this term.[93] The practice of wearing iron rings on the fingers and toes is still common in South India. The fourth finger from the thumb is popularly known as the ring-finger. A consideration of the extensive use of iron rings in the ancient world as a charm for banning ghosts and other dangerous spirits has led Fraser to make the following observation. "How far the custom of wearing finger rings, bracelets and anklets may have been influenced by or even have sprung from a belief in their efficacy as amulets to keep the soul in the body or demons out of it, is a question worth considering."[94]

It may not be too much to hope that the import of words *taḍayam*, *pūṇ*, and *iḻai* which denote the jewel in general, and of the terms *kāppu*, *nūl*, *muḍiccu* and *āḻi*, which signify particular jewels, may give us a clue to discover the origin of jewellry.

The instinct of self-preservation must have induced primitive man to devise tools and implements. "When primitive man-Homo-primigenius-first stumbled against a stone or hit his head against the overhanging bough of a tree, and instead of wasting his impotent rage in pounding the offensive stone to dust or tearing that bough to shreds,

91. The jewel consisting of three or more strings of plaited gold is known as miṉ-ṉūl (மின்னூல)—M. C. C. M. Sept.

92. நாற்றுவர்தம் பெண்டிரும் எய்தி நூலிழப்ப-திவ். பெரியதிரு. 2.

93. It is significant that the Discus, the most powerful weapon in the armoury of Viṣṇu, who destroys the wicked and protects the virtuous, is styled āḻi (ஆழி).

94. Golden Bough, Part II, p. 315.

he turned the experience to profit and learnt to fling that stone as a missile at an enemy or broke that bough and used it as a club, he began his human career on the earth."[95] The purpose served by the detached bough is indicated by the etymological sense of the word '*kōl*' (கோல்) which denotes the club, *Kōl* is derived from the verbal root '*kol*' (கொல்)—to beat-by the lengthening of the root-vowel. The instrument of destruction is thus denoted by the term *kōl*. In course of time it was extended to all sorts of instruments. e.g., *Eḻudu-kōl* (எழுதுகோல்)-the writing or painting instrument, *Tāḻ-k-kōl* (தாழ்க்கோல்)-the unbolting instrument and so forth.

Paḍai (படை) now used in the sense of army is derived from the root *paḍu* (படு) and literally signifies the act of prostrating the enemy. Tools made of stone were found to be more serviceable for this purpose than *kōl*. " Early men displayed a wonderful skill in shaping these implements and South India has yielded innumerable palaeolithic tools."[96] The Tamil word *kalam* (கலம்) porobably formed from *kal* (கல்)-stone, signifies the lithic tools employed by primitive men. The expression *paḍai-k-kalam* perhaps denoted in the first instance the stone implement used for felling the foemen. In course of time, however, *kalam* came to be associated with anything made of stone or wood, e.g., *Uṇkalam* (உண்கலம்) eating vessel, *koḷ-kalam* (கொள்கலம்) receptacle, *marakkalm* (மரக்கலம்) boat. It is significant that the expression *aṇi-kalam* (அணிகலம்) is used with reference to jewellry. Polished stones probably served as ornaments in primitive soeiety. The word *kal* still sticks to the names of some of the jewels. The emerald ear-pendent is known as *paccai-k-kal* (பச்சைக்கல்). The diamond necklace is *kal-aḍḍigai* (கல் அட்டிகை). Although in modern jewellry precious stones and glittering metals have taken the place of the polished stones, the expression *aṇi-kalam* revives the thought of the lithic jewel.

The ancient conception that royalty is next to Divinity is affirmed by the existence of common terms applicable to both of them. The sacred character of the royal personality is declared in unmistakable terms in the Devotional songs. " I find the image of the Lord in the gracious King " says a seer.[97] The king was supposed to be guarded

95. The Stone age in India, p. 5.

96. Ibid, p. 8.

97. திருவுடை மன்னரைக் காணிற்றி ருமாலைக் கண்டேனே-திருவாய் மொழி, பதிகம் 34, 8.

and guided by the light of Heaven.[98] Hence next to Divinity, Royalty commanded the allegiance and adoration of the people. *Kō* (கோ) and *Kōṉ* (கோன்); *Iṟai* (இறை) and *Iṟaivaṉ* (இறைவன்) are terms common to the Divine as well as the human lord. The Temple of God and the palace of the King are both denoted by the term *Kōyil.*[99] (*Kō*-Lord; *il*-house.)

The ancient titles denoting the three royal houses of South India are suggestive of the distinctive features of the three Tamil kingdoms. The Chēra King is *Villavaṉ* (வில்லவன்); the Chōḻa King is *Vaḷavaṉ* (வளவன்) and the Pāṇḍya King is Mīṉavaṉ (மீனவன்).[100] The Chēra was the lord of the hills. His subjects were hardy hillmen skilled in archery and his country abounded in wild life. The bow, therefore, was the natural symbol of his royal authority. The Chōḻa country was the most fertile part of Tamil land. The abundant and fertilising waters of the Kāvēri glorified as Poṉṉi (பொன்னி),[101] the golden river, made Chōḻamaṇḍalam, the granary of South India. Hence the name Vaḷavaṉ indicates that he was the lord of the fertile plains.[102] The fish was the symbol of the Pāṇḍya power. It adorned the royal flag and the royal seal of the Pāṇḍya king. The protecting deity of the Pāṇḍya kingdom was *Mīṉāṭ*chi (மீனாட்சி) - the fish-eyed goddess. The association of the fish with the Pāṇḍya power indicates that he was the lord of the seas. Pearl-fishery was the main source of his wealth and prosperity. In prehistoric times an enormous and lucrative trade was carried on *Koṟkai*, a seaport town situated at the mouth of the Tāmbraparaṇi. The Pāṇḍyan assumed the title of the *Koṟkai - t - tuṟaivaṉ* (கொற்கைத்துறைவன்)[103] and *Koṟkai-yāḷi* (கொற்கையாளி) - the Lord of the *Koṟkai* port with legitimate pride.

98. உறங்குமாயினு மன்னவன் றன்னொளி
கறங்கு தெண்டிரை வையகங்காக்குமால். சிந். நாமகள்-219.
ஒளியோடொழுகப்படும்-திருக்குறள், 698. (ஒளி-உறங்கா நிற்கவும் தாமுலகங் காக்கின்ற அவர் கடவுட்டன்மை, பரி. உரை).

99. மாலை வெண்குடைப் பாண்டியன் கோயில்-சிலப். ஆய்ச்சி. 5.

100. சூடாமணி நிகண்டு, மக்கட்பெயர், 18, 19, 20.

101. தெய்வப்பொன்னி யெனலாய புனலாறுமுள-கம்ப. அகத்திய. 58.

102. It is possible that the tiger was adopted as the symbol of the Chola power at a time when a large part of the Chola country was covered by dense forest. The great Chola kings are praised by the Tamil bards for the meritorious act of clearing the land of wild growth and rendering it fit for cultivation (Refer-Paṭṭiṉappālai-283).

103. கொற்கைக் கோமான் கொற்கையம் பெருந்துறை-ஐங்குறு. 188.

It is natural that the king whose power and prosperity mainly depended on maritime commerce should adopt the fish as the symbol of his royal authority.

The law by which the primitive Tamils were governed may be understood from the term *vaḻakku* (வழக்கு) which signifies litigation in the modern speech. *Vaḻakkam* (வழக்கம்) or *Vaḻakku* (வழக்கு) means custom. " The origin of customs is generally enshrouded in the mist of the distant past : but the binding force of customs lies in their sacred antiquity and in the reverential obedience to them by the people themselves for generations." [104] The ancient Tamils were governed mainly by customs. Decisions in tribunals of Justice were based on immemorial custom. When an aggrieved person appeared before the tribunal with a complaint that a violation of custom in regard to a particular matter has resulted in the infringement of his personal or proprietary rights, it naturally necessitated an exposition of the custom alleged to have been violated. Hence the expression *vaḻakkāḍal* (வழக்காடல்) or *vaḻakuraittal* (வழக்குரைத்தல்) came to signify pleading. The significance of the term *vaḻakku* (வழக்கு) is clearly brought out in the chapter dealing with the pleading of Kaṇṇahi in Cilappadihāram. Kaṇṇahi who was aggrieved by an act of the Pāṇḍya king, appeared before him to vindicate her husband's innocence and demand redress for the violation of the time-honoured custom that none but the wicked shall be punished by the State.[105] In expounding the ancient custom of the country she made the point that even royalty was not above the sacred customary law of the land by recalling the act of the great Chōḻa king who did not hesitate to sacrifice his only son when it was proved that he was responsible for killing a calf on the road.[106] The chapter in Cilappadihāram relating to Kaṇṇahi's pleading is aptly

104. " Custom is of far earlier origin than law. Law which is the product of a rather complicated machinery of social and political organisation, was unknown, at any rate in its present sense, in the primitive ages when society was not, as at present, a collection of individuals but an aggregation of families "—Customs and Customary Law, p. 1.

105. தீவேந்தன் தனைக்கண்டு இத்திறங்கேட்பல் யான்என்றாள் - சிலப். ஊர் சூழ். 71.

106. தேரா மன்னா செப்புவ துடையேன்
....
வாயிற் கடைமணி நடுநா நடுங்க
ஆவின் கடைமணியுகுநீர் நெஞ்சு சுடத்தான்றன்
அரும்பெறற் புதல்வனை ஆழியின் மடித்தோன்
பெரும்பெயர்ப் புகார் என்பதியே—சிலப். வழக்குரை.

entitled *vaḻakkurai kātai* (வழக்குரை காதை) i.e., the chapter relating to the exposition of custom. In modern language an enquiry in a civil court is known as *vaḻakku vicāraṇai* (வழக்கு விசாரணை) as distinguished from *kuṟṟa vicāraṇai* (குற்ற விசாரணை) enquiry in a criminal court. Thus, the word *vaḻakku* used with reference to litigation takes us back to the days when the Tamil community was governed by immemorial custom having the force of law.

The Greek and Hebrew Languages bear testimony to the commercial relations that subsisted in ancient times between Tamil India and foreign countries. The old Tamil poems give a catalogue of commodities imported from other countries by land and by sea. Among the commodities that came from distant countries beyond the seas, a prominent place is assigned to the horse.[107] It is probable that the Arab merchants who maintained active commercial relations with the Tamil country for several centuries carried on a lucrative trade in Persian and Arabian horses. The words designating the equipment of the horse in Tamil seem to indicate that it was not an indigenous animal. The saddle is denoted by the term *cēṇam* (சேணம்) which is derived from the Persian *Zīn*. *Lakān* (லகான்) - the reins, is a corruption of the Persian *Lagām*. *Cavukku* (சவுக்கு) - the whip, is obviously the Persian *Chābuk*.[108]

Among the thirty words given in *Cūḍāmaṇi* as synonyms for the horse, *Kōram* (கோரம்) and *Pari* (பரி) seem to be significant. One of the Persian words designating the horse is *kurra*. The Telugu word *gurramu* (horse) bears a close resemblance to the Persian *Kurra*. In Tamil *Kōram* is used generally in the sense of horse and particularly with reference to the royal horse of the Chōḻa dynasty. Malcolm says that horses of the Turkoman or Khorassan breed were noted for their great size and strength and were most prized by the soldiers of Persia.[109] It is possible that *Kōram* used with reference to the Chōḻa horse is a corruption of the Persian Khorassan. The mare is denoted by the term *Faras* in Persian. The resemblance of the Tamil word *pari* (பரி) - horse, to this Persian word is remarkable.

The existence of indigenous words for the boat, the ship, the light house, etc., testifies to the knowledge which the ancient Tamils had

107. நீரின் வந்த நிமிர்பரிப் புரவியும்-பட்டின. 185.

108. For the Persian words referred to, see 'Burhān-i-Qāṭi'.

109. Malcolm's Persia, Vol. II, pp. 516, 17.

acquired of the art of navigation. However, commercial relations with foreign countries have enriched the Tamil vocabulary by contributing a few nautical terms. *Langar*, the Persian form of the Greek word for anchor, has been adopted in Tamil as *Naṅguram* (நங்குரம்). The recognition that this nautical term has received at the hands of a mediaeval commentator[110] shows that it must have passed into the Tamil language, possibly through the sailors' slang, at a very early period of its history. The word *mālumi* (மாலுமி) designating the pilot is derived from the Persian *Mallah*. *Nīkāṉ* (நீகான்) and its variant *Mīkāṉ* (மீகான்) are perhaps corruptions of the Persian *Nākhudā* which signifies the captain or owner of a ship - a word adopted in Arabic in the same form. *Cukkāṉ* (சுக்கான்) - rudder - [111] is Arabic.

The Arab merchants have introduced the name of an Indian fruit into the European languages in the wake of their commercial intercourse. The English word Orange has been traced to the Indian Languages in which it originated. *Nāraṅgāi* or *Nāraṅga*, the name of the fruit in the Indian Languages assumed the form *Nāraṅg* in Persian and *Nāranj* in Arabic. "From the Arabic, the Italians got *Narancia*, the Spaniards *Naranja*, the Portuguese *Laranja* and the French *Orange*." The form in which the original word appears in the Indian Languages may also be considered. In Sanskrit it appears in two forms *Nāgaraṅga* and *Nāraṅga*; "but of these words no satisfactory etymological explanation has been given."[112] In the Dravidian Languages *Nāraṅgāi* which has assumed the form *Naraṅṅa* in the Malayāḷam, can, according to Dr. Gundert, be traced to the root *Nār* (to smell). It may be noted that the Persian *Nāraṅg* bears a very close resemblance to the Malayāḷam form of the word. It is probable that *Nāraṅgāi* passed into the language of the Arabs during their commercial intercourse with Malabar.

The advent of new religions and the impact of new cultures in South India have from time to time led to a revision of the Tamil vocabulary. Either new words have come into existence or existing words have acquired new significations. The principal religions that influenced the

110. Naccinārkiṉiyar has used the word in his commentary on Cintāmaṇi, st., 1231.

111. Cuṅgāṉ is the nasalised form of cukkāṉ. The Arabic word is Sukkāṉ.

112. Hob-job. p. 642. For a derivation of the word from a Dravidian root refer to Gundert's Malayalam Dictionary. (Nārakam-from nār or nāru + akam "holding fragrance—an orange tree, citrus aurantium. The fruit is nāraṅṅa whence P. nārānj and European 'orange'—p. 544.

thoughts and ideals of the Tamil country were Jainism and Buddhism in ancient times and Muhammadanism and Christianity in modern times.

The word *paḷḷi* (பள்ளி) was originally used in the general sense of place. e.g. *Iḍai-p-paḷḷi* (இடைப்பள்ளி) central place ; *maḍai-p-paḷḷi* (மடைப்பள்ளி) [*maḍai* - cooked rice; *Paḷḷi* - place] denotes kitchen, now restricted to the kitchen attached to temples and charitable foundations.

The Buddhists and Jains employed the term *paḷḷi* to denote their holy places. The monosteries of the Jaina monks and the hermitages of the Jaina ascetics were known as *mātavar paḷḷi* (மாதவர் பள்ளி) and *aṟavōr paḷḷi* (அறவோர் பள்ளி). *Āsīvaka-p-paḷḷi* (ஆசீவகப் பள்ளி)[113] was the monastery of the *Ājīvaka* sect of Jains. As Buddhism and Jainism were missionary religions, the learned monks and ascetics were mainly engaged in expounding the principles of their faith to their disciples in the monasteris. Thus *paḷḷi* (பள்ளி) was not merely a place for practising religious austerities but was also a theological seminary. It is probable that the education imparted in these seminaries included a course of instruction in grammar, logic and literature, as an exact knowledge of the language and a correct method of exposition were essential for the propagation of religion. Thus the term *paḷḷi* came to signify a seat of learning. The decline of Jainism in South India led to the abolition of the monasteries. But the thirst for knowledge and the respect for learning created by the *paḷḷis* survived them. The excitement caused by the struggle between Jainism and Hinduism for supremacy and the flush of victory scored by the latter gave an impetus to the study of Hindu Scriptures and Theology. Enthusiastic pupils waited at the doors of learned men with a view to pay their respects and receive instruction. The house of the learned man thus became the school and the *kūḍam* (கூடம்)—verandah, of his residence was regularly and habitually used as the place of instruction, the school came to be called *paḷḷi-k-kūḍam* (பள்ளிக்கூடம்). There the master used to sit on a pial (திண்ணை) - earthern dais - and impart instruction to the pupils who sat at his feet. As the pial was the seat of learning the school received the name *tiṇṇai-p-paḷḷi-k-kūḍam* (திண்ணைப் பள்ளிக்கூடம்). Thus it will be seen that the modern school, which mainly confines itself to secular education, had its origin in the theological seminaries of the religions which have ceased to be a living force in this country.

113. அறவோர் பள்ளியும் அறவோர்க்கும் பைடையும். சிலப். இந்திர. 179.
அறவோர் பள்ளி=அருகர் பள்ளி, புத்தர் பள்ளி-அடி. உரை.

Paḷḷi (பள்ளி) as the name of a place of worship or prayer has acquired a new lease of life by its adoption by Islam. The Muhammadan mosque in the Tamil country is commonly called *Paḷḷivāsal* (பள்ளிவாசல்).[113a]

The history of the word *aḍi-kaḷ* (அடிகள்) affords another instance of the influence of Buddhist and Jaina religions. The devotees of the Lord were generally denoted by the term *aḍiyār* (அடியார்) in the Hindu religion. But Jainism and Buddhism which laid great emphasis on renunciation used the word *aḍi-kaḷ* with reference to their ascetics. Iḷaṅgō, the Chēra prince was styled *Iḷaṅgō-aḍi-kaḷ* as he renounced his royal splendour and became a Jaina ascetic.[114] Kavundi, the lady ascetic, is referred to as *Kavundi-aḍikaḷ* in *Cilappadihāram.* The celebrated monk who expounded the Buddhist law at Kānchi was known as *Aṟavaṇa aḍikaḷ.* The new shade of thought which the word *aḍi-kaḷ* acquired in the Jaina and Buddhist usage has been adopted and perpetuated by the followers of other religions. The prince of Saiva ascetics is elegantly styled *Paṭṭiṉat-t-aḍi-kaḷ* (பட்டினத் தடிகள்) or *Tiruveṇ-kāṭṭu-aḍikaḷ* (திருவெண்காட்டடிகள்). Māṇikkavāsagar is known as *Vādavūr-aḍi-kaḷ* (வாதவூர் அடிகள்) and so forth.

The Jaina ascetics who settled in the Tamil country belonged mainly to the Digambara sect of Jainism. Hence the Śramaṇa (Jaina) religion with which the Tamils were acquainted was the religion of the naked ascetics. The word *Śramaṇa* was corrupted into *Camaṇam* (சமணம்), which became *amaṇam* (அமணம்) by the elimination of the initial consonant. *Amaṇam,* the name of the religion came to be associated with nudity as the expounders of the faith were nude ascetics. The *amaṇam* (அமணம்) and its corruption *ammaṇam* (அம்மணம்) came to denote nudity.

The original sense of the word *viṉai* (வினை) is action. The verb is known as *viṉai-c-col* (வினைச்சொல்) in Tamil grammar, as the function of that part of speech is to denote action. Purity of action and decisive action are denoted by the expressions *viṉai-t-tūymai* (வினைத்தூய்மை) and *viṉai-t-tiṭpam* (வினைத்திட்பம்)[115] in Tirukkuṟaḷ. When the doctrine of *Karma* was elaborated and systematised, viṉai came to be

113a. In Nānjanād (South Travancore) and Travancore the word paḷḷi associated with the Christian church, e.g , Savuriyār kōyil paḷḷi.

114. அடிகள் என்றது துறத்தலான். சிலப்பதி. அடி. உரை.

115. திருக்குறள், அதி. 66, 67.

used in the sense of *Karma*. The principle of *Karma* is based on the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul. *Viṉai* or *Karma* was responsible for the incarceration of the soul in the mortal coil. "Every action whether mental or physical is the sowing of a seed or in the technical language of Hindu Philosophy, an engendering of *Karma*. The harvest which is sown must be reaped, gathered and assimilated in its unabated fulness. *Karma*, therefore, is a kind of force which compels the soul to bear the consequence of its right or wrong action, and this force originates in the very action itself which is performed by the soul and at the very moment of its performance."[116] Thus *viṉai* came to denote the action of the soul in previous births which causes happiness or misery in succeeding births. The expression *ūḻviṉai* (ஊழ்வினை)[117] refers to the regular unalterable course of *Karma*. The preponderance of evil deeds in the world has gradually led to the restriction of the term *viṉai* (வினை) to the evil *Karma* which is the cause of misery and distress.

Śaṅgam is a popular word in the Tamil country. It signifies an institution organised for promoting the cause of learning or religion. The classical commentaries in Tamil contain a description of the three Śaṅgams which flourished in South India under the munificent patronage of the Pāṇḍyas. The restriction of the general term Śaṅgam to an organisation of cultured men brought into existence for the purpose of promoting a particular cause, is perhaps due to Buddhist and Jaina influence. The history of the word Śaṅgam has been traced as follows:—

"The word Śaṅgam is the Tamil form of the Sanskrit Saṅgha first popularised by the Jainas and Bauddhas. A Jaina Saṅgha was for the first time established in the Tamil country at Madura in 470 A.D. It has to be noted that this was not a Tamil Śaṅgam as we understand it, but an organisation of the Jains of the Tamil country for teaching the Jaina Dharma to lay disciples. The first Bauddha Saṅgha of the Tamil country is mentioned in the romance called *Maṇimēhalai* as existing in Kāviri-p-pūmbaṭṭiṉam. The 'three Jewels'-Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha-are mentioned later in the same poem. Thus, apparently the word Śaṅgam was used at first in Tamil for a religious association and its function was to teach Dharma."[118]

116. The Key of Knowledge, p. 876.

117. சிலப். பதிகம்.

118. History of the Tamils, pp. 246-48.

The corporate character of family life in South India is attested by the significance and history of the word *aiyaṉ* (ஐயன்). The one-letter word *ai* (ஐ) signifies pre-eminence or headship. The head of the family and the head of the State are denoted by the term '*ai*' (ஐ). In the well known line *eṉ ai muṉ nillaṉ-miṉ tevvir* (என் ஐ முன் நில்லன்மின் தெவ்விர்) 'Face not my lord in battle Oh! foes!'[119] '*ai*' is used in the sense of lord. As pronominal terminations and formative suffixes are generally attached to one-letter words to facilitate enunciation *aṉ* (அன்)—the suffix of the masculine singular was attached to '*ai*'. Thus '*ai*' + '*aṉ*'>*ai-y-aṉ* (ஐயன்) came to be used with reference to the *Pater-familias* who was the responsible head of the joint family. The right of managing the joint estate and the duty of supporting the members of the joint family devolved on the eldest son after the death of the father. This status accounts for the term *aiyaṉ* being applied to the eldest brother in the first instance and to every elder brother in succession. The common term *tamaiyaṉ* (தமையன்) which denotes the elder brother is derived by prefixing the reflexive pronominal base *tam* to the word *aiyaṉ*.[120]

The resemblance between the growth of the tree and the growth of the human family has led to the application of the word *kiḷai* (கிளை)-branch, to relations. The *Paterfamilias* supports the family as the trunk of a tree supports its branches. Though the trunk and the twigs are distinguishable, they together form the tree. The trunk sustains branches and the branches in turn lend charm and beauty by their foliage. The ramification of the human family is commonly compared by the Tamil poets to the banyan tree which abounds in leaves and branches.

The ancient practice of conferring on grand-children the names of their grand-parents has led to the formation of the words *pēraṉ* (பேரன்), grandson and *pērtti* (பேர்த்தி)[121] grand-daughter. The practical difficulty experienced in families blessed with more than one grand-son and one grand-daughter of denoting all of them by the names of their grand-parents, is generally obviated by conferring on the eldest son the name of the grand-father, and on the eldest daughter

119. திருக்குறள், 771.

120. For other words with the prefix *tam* refer of Caldwell's Comparative grammar, pp. 398-400.

121. Pērtti is corrupted into pētti. Cf. cērkkai—cēkkai; Nīrttu-Nīttu; Pērttu-pēttu; pēraṉ and pērtti literally mean namesake.

the name of the grand-mother. The need for remembering the names of the immediate and remote ancestors at the ceremonies connected with the propitiation of their disembodied souls was perhaps responsible for this practice.[122]

The maternal uncle's son is *ammāṉ-cēy* (அம்மான் சேய்) (*ammāṉ*-uncle, *cēy*-son) corrupted into *ammāñji* (அம்மாஞ்சி). It was not considered bad manners to be familiar with the *ammāñji*, to crack jokes at him or tease him with petty pranks. The general inability of an *ammāñji* placed in the midst of a mixed company of wits, to meet them on their own ground and pay them in their own coin, has resulted in making the term *ammāñji* synonymous with simpleton. This degradation in sense resulting from a pleasantry is an instance of "the mildly malicious wit which is but a form of popular good sense."[123]

The history of the word *eḻuttu* (எழுத்து) gives us an insight into the origin of the modern alphabet. *Eḻuttu* (எழுத்து) derived from *eḻutu* (எழுது) originally denoted painting. *Eḻutu-kōl* (எழுதுகோல்) is the painter's brush.[124] A hall in the temple at Tirupparaṅguṉṟam whose walls were adorned with paintings intended to convey religious and moral instruction is described as *eḻuttu-nilai-maṇṭapam* (எழுத்து நிலை மண்டபம்) in *Paripāḍal.*[125] Kamban describes the charming personality of Rama as *oviyattu eḻuta oṉṉā uruvam* (ஓவியத்து எழுத ஒண்ணு உருவம்)-the form that defies the skill of the painter.[126] In grammatical usage, eḻuttu[127] signifies 'a concept which includes the sound of a unit syllable and the sign that represents it.' The pictograph is considered to be the parent of the present alphabet. This view seems to receive confirmation from the original sense of *eḻuttu* in Tamil.

The words denoting the window are expressive of its primitive shape and purpose. In old poetry the term *kālatar* (காலதர்) literally 'wind-way' (kāl-wind, atar-way) signifies the window. The shape of the window is suggested by the word *kuṟuṅgaṇ* (குறுங்

122. Tirukkural, 43.
123. Vendryes-Language, p. 210.
124. Tirukkural, 1285.
125. பரி. 19-53.
126. கம்ப. வாலிவதை. 78.
127. History of the Tamils, p. 214.

கண்),[128] which means 'small eye.' Cilappadihāram refers to the window in the mansions of the city of Puhār which resembled the eye of the deer.[129] *Pala-kaṇi* (பலகணி) literally 'the thing of many eyes' perhaps signifies the lattice-window. These indigenous words have now become obsolete and *jannal*-a corruption of the Portuguese word *Janella*[130] has obtained wide currency. The history of the English word 'window' may be considered in this connection. Palmer says "a mysterious word that recalls an obsolete technique is the English word window which means literally 'wind-eye'. The word 'eye' in many languages forms part of compound words denoting the window."[131]

Words, whose meanings have been obscured or obliterated by their corruption will disclose their treasures, if they were restored to their correct forms. In the Dravidian Languages, words containing the characteristic sound '*ḻ*' (ழ) have undergone remarkable changes. The physiological effort involved in the correct phonation of this character is perhaps responsible for its elimination from the alphabets of the Dravidian Languages other than Tamil and Malayalam. The extraordinary lack of uniformity in the pronunciation of words containing this character is evidently due to the difficulty of its exact phonation. Economy of effort is sometimes achieved by the elimination of this letter even from words in which it forms an integral part of the roots. For instance *Tākkōl* (தாக்கோல்) commonly used in Malayalam and certain parts of the Tamil country in the sense of 'key', is a corruption of *Tāḻkkōl* (தாழ்க்கோல்). *Tāḻ* (தாழ்) is an old word which means 'bolt.' It still lingers in the hybrid *tāḻppāḷ* (தாழ்ப்பாள்)[132] corrupted into *tāppāḷ* (தாப்பாள்) in the colloquial dialect. Hence *tāḻkkōl* denotes the instrument employed for lifting or drawing off the bolt. In the southern districts of the Tamil country *tiṟavukōl* (திறவுகோல்) is largely used to signify the 'key'. In modern usage however *chāvi* (சாவி) a corruption of the Portuguese word *chiavi*[133] has succeeded to a large extent in displacing the indigenous terms.

Several words in the Tamil language have lost their semantic value, by the elimination or alteration of the character '*ḻ*' (ழ). The

128. கூதிர்ப்பள்ளிக் குறுங்கண் அடைத்து-சிலப். அந்தி. 61.
129. மான்கட் காலதர் மாளிகை யிடங்களும்-சிலப். இந்திர. 8.
130. Tamil Lexicon.
131. Palmer's Introduction to modern Linguistics, pp. 153, 54.
132. In Tāḻppāḷ, tāḻ is Tamil and pāḷ is Dutch-Tamil Lexicon.
133. Tamil Lexicon.

word *Tomban* (தொம்பன்) for instance is used in some districts of the Tamil country to denote a class of people who render menial service. The significance of the word will be apparent if it is shown to be the corruption of *Tolumbān* (தொழும்பன்) - (*Tolumbu* means service).[134]

A married woman who is the mistress of the house is commonly known as *vāvarasi* (வாவரசி)[135] in the popular speech of the South. The correct form of the word is *vālvarasi* (வாழ்வரசி) *vālvu*-life; *arasi*-queen. This term indicates the high regard in which wedded life has been held in this country and the remarkable position assigned to the wife in family life. For the woman, life in the real sense of the word commenced with marriage. The expression *Vālkkai-p-pattaval* (வாழ்க்கைப்பட்டவள்) used with reference to the married woman, clearly reflects the opinion of the community that the purpose of life is fulfilled by marriage. On the other hand *vālātaval* (வாழாதவள்) a woman who has not entered life, is regarded as "a flower wasting its sweetness in the desert air" and is hence the object of public sympathy, if not of contempt.

When a sick person who is gradually recovering his normal health is asked 'How do you feel ?' he answers *tāvalai* (தாவலை) or *tēvalai* (தேவலை). At first sight *tēvalai* appears to be a corruption of *tēvai illai* (தேவை இல்லை) i.e., 'I need nothing.' But this is hardly a proper answer to a query regarding the state of the patient's health. Moreover, the connection in which this term is employed shows that this cannot be the sense intended. The expression *tāvalai āccu* (தாவளை ஆச்சு) is commonly used in the sence of a wound healed or an illness cured. *Tāvalai* is obviously a corruption of *Tāvalai* (தாவலை). The correct form of the word seems to be *tālvilai* (தாழ்விலை) which indicates that the disease is not taking a bad turn or becoming worse. This expression coming from a patient undergoing medical treatment will naturally mean that the disease has been brought under control. It is worthy of note that the elimination of the special character '*l*' (ழ்) which forms an integral part of the root is the first step in the process of the corruption of this word.[136]

134. நின்விழுத்தொழும்பின் உள்ளேன்-திருவாசகம், நீத்தல். 2.

135. Vāvarasi is commonly used in the colloquial dialect in Tinnevelly.

136. Tālvilai> Tāvilai> Tāvalai> Tēvali: The elimination of l may be noted in the following words:—

Tālvadam (தாழ்வடம்)> Tāvadam (தாவடம்), Tavadamu (Te); ūlttai (ஊழ்த்தை)> ūttai (ஊத்தை); Kūlpatanir (கூழ்ப்பதநீர்)> Kūppatanir, cor. Kūppatani; Malungu (மழுங்கு)> Mangu.

There is a tendency in every language to banish words which denote unpleasant or terrific objects. "To primitive people," says Jesperson, "a name is something with a real existence outside humanity, something possessing power, so that the way to escape evil consequence is not to use the plain word for anything bad or dangerous."[137] Diseases in general are dreaded by humanity and certain diseases cause a terrible fright. The primitive people of South India seem to have been horrified at the mysterious disease known as small-pox. Malevolent deities were supposed to be responsible for it and their fury was abated by abundant sacrifices. The disease itself was designated by a term which evoked the tenderest associations in the panic-stricken mind. *Ammai* (அம்மை) - mother, signifies small-pox. The attack of small-pox is denoted by the graceful expression *ammai-viḷaiyāṭṭu* (அம்மை விளையாட்டு) - mother's play, and the pustule of small-pox bears the name *ammai-muttu* (அம்மை முத்து) - mother's pearl. *Ammai kuttal* (அம்மை குத்தல்) is the common euphemism for innoculation.

"In India," says Fraser, "the animals whose names are most commonly tabooed are the snake and the tiger. In Telingana the the euphemistic name for a snake which should always be employed is worm or insect (purugu)...... Natives of Travancore are careful not to speak disrespectfully of serpents."[138] In the Tamil country the cobra is known as *Nallapāmbu.*

The terrors associated with death are assuaged by the employment of circumlocutions. *Tuñjiṉāṉ* (துஞ்சினன்) - slept, *ceṉṟāṉ* (சென்றான்), *pōṉāṉ* (போனான்) - has gone, *Tiruvaḍi aḍaindāṉ* (திருவடி அடைந்தான்) - reached the holy feet of the Lord.[139] These words are commonly employed to denote death. The Divine messenger who is charaged with the duty of separating the life from the body is depicted by mythology in lurid colours. He is described as a dark figure armed with deadly weapons of terrific dimensions, mounted on a sturdy buffalo and demanding his toll with a ruthless and ferocious face. The thought of death raises the image of this terrific personality. The

137. Mankind, Nation and Individiual, p. 169.

138. Golden Bough, Part II, pp. 401-02.

139. அஞ்சன மேனி யான்றன் அடுகணை யொன்றால் மாழ்கித் துஞ்சினன்-கம்ப. பிணிவீட்டு. 84.

நின்றான் இருந்தான் கிடந்தான்றன் கேளலறச் சென்றான்எனப் படுத லான்-நாலடி. 29.

போயினன் என்றான் என்ற போழ்தத்தே ஆவிபோனான்-கம்ப. தைலம். 60. புண்ணியா, உன்னடிக்கே போதுகின்றேன் - திருநாவுக்கரசர் தேவாரம், திருப்பூம்புகலூர்ப் பதிகம், 1.

horrors associated with death are mitigated by calling the messenger *Naḍuvaṉ* (நடுவன்), the just and *Tarumaṉ* (தருமன்), the righteous.[139a]

Place-names afford valuable material for the reconstruction of the ancient history of the Tamil race. They may be utilised at any rate for the purpose of corroborating the conclusions warranted by epigraphical and literary evidence. But the popular craze for investing new places with hoary traditions has been responsible for the transformation or disfiguration of several place-names. Mahābalipuram-a celebrated shrine on the sea-coast in the Chingelput district-is an instance in point. This city was originally known as Mallai or Māmallai.[140] Mallai was called Māmallapuram after the great Pallava king Narasimhavarmaṉ alias Māmallaṉ. Māmallapuram was changed into Mahābalipuram by those who were either unaware of its origin or who desired the name of the mighty Mahābali to be associated with it.

The history of the Pāṇḍava Hills in the Western Ghats affords another instance of transformation effected by folk-etymology. This hill belonged to the ancient Chēras and was known as the *Aiyirai Hill*"[141] (அயிரை மலை). Tbe Goddess *Koṟṟavai* (கொற்றவை) installed on the top of the hill was propitiated by the Chēra Kings before they commenced hostilities. By and by, *Aiyirai Malai* was corrupted into *Aivar Malai,* i.e., the Hill of the Five. The popularity of the story of the Pāṇḍavas led to the identification of Aivar with the Pañja-Pāṇḍavas. To each of the Pāṇḍavas a hill was generously assigned and the ancient Koṟṟavai was made to play the role of Pāñjāli, their devoted wife.[142]

The history of the word Trichinopoly is no less interesting. The original name of the place was *Cirāppaḷḷi* (சிராப்பள்ளி). In the sacred songs of the Saivite Saints, it is referred to as Cirāppaḷḷi.[143] *Tiru,* the prefix of sanctity, was attached to it and it become *Tiru-c-Cirāppaḷḷi.*[144] The shrine on the rock of Tiru-c-cirāppaḷḷi was perhaps

139a. சூடாமணி நிகண்டு.

140. கலங்களியங்கும் மல்லைக்கடன்மல்லைத் தலசயனம்-பெரிய திருமொழி, 2, 6, 6.

141. See Chēraṉ Cheṅguṭṭuvaṉ by M. Raghava Iyengar, p. 181.

142. Pancha Pāṇḍavarmalai is the present name of the hill.

143. சிராப்பள்ளிக் குன்றுடையானைக் கூற என்னுள்ளங் குளிரும்மே-திருச்சிராப்பள்ளிப்பதிகம், திருஞானசம்பந்தர் தேவாரம்.

144. திருச்சிராப்பள்ளி யென்றலும் தீவினை நரிச்சிராது நடக்குமே-திருநாவுக்கரசர் தேவாரம்.

destitute of any memorable tradition. An attempt was made to rectify this supposed defect by those who set themselves the task of celebrating its antiquity by composing a Puranam. An ingenious device was adopted by which Tirisira, the step-brother of the mighty Rāvaṇa was made the god-father of the shrine. *Tiru*, the prefix in Tiru-c-cirāppaḷḷi was twisted into *Tiri* (திரி) - three - and Tiri - c - cirāppaḷḷi was interpreted as the place founded by Tirisira, the three - headed warrior of Lanka.[145] An air of probability was given to this innovation, by lodging Kara, the brother of Tirisira, at Karūr, in the vicinity of Tiru-c-cirāppaḷḷi. Karapuram is one of the names of Karūr in the Puranam.[146] The shrine alleged to have been founded by Tirisira came to be called Tirisirapuram. The zeal evinced by the Saivite poets and scholars in popularising the term Tirisirapuram-an attempt which has not succeeded to any appreciable extent-is perhaps indicative of their anxiety to dissociate the shrine from every word or sign associated with Jainism, which perhaps held sway in the caves of the Cirāppaḷḷi rock prior to its occupation by Saivism. The modern contraction *Tirucci* (திருச்சி) retains only the prefix of sanctity and the initial palatal of the ancient name.

The ancient classification of land in Tamil India is suggested by the word *iḍaiyar* (இடையர்) which denotes the members of the shepherd community. *Iḍaiyar* literally means the inhabitants of the middle tract. The meaning of this term recalls to our mind the primitive division of land into four classes, *viz.*, the hilly tract, *Kuriñji* (குறிஞ்சி), the sylvan tract, *Mullai* (முல்லை), the arable tract *Marutam* (மருதம்), and the littoral tract, *Neydal* (நெய்தல்). This classification was deemed so comprehensive that the earth came to be called *Nānilam* (நானிலம்). Of these four classes the pastoral region was known as the middle tract, as it lay between the hilly and the arable tracts.

Distinct names are given to villages situated in these four natural regions. The hamlets of the hill-men in Kuriñji are called *Kuricci* (குறிச்சி).[147] Āḷvārkuricci, Naḍuvakkuricci, Kaḷḷakkuricci,

145. துதித்திடுந் திரிசிரா சொல்லுஞ் சொல்லினன்
மதிச்சடை முடியினன் வரங்கொ டுத்தலால்
உதித்திடு மளகையே யொப்பதாகுமப்
பதிப்பெயர் திரிசிராப் பள்ளியானதே
செவ்வந்திப் புராணம், திருமலைச்சருக்கம், 15.

146. கஞ்சனெண்ணுதிபுரம் கரபுரம் பாற்கரபுரம் வீரசோழபுரம்-கருவூர்ப் புராணம்.

147. குறிச்சி யெங்கள் குறச்சாதி குடியிருப்பதம்மே-மீனாட்சியம்மை குறம். 19.

Kallidaikkuricci-the names of these villages indicate that they belong to the mountainous region. Habitations in the sylvan tract are known as *pāḍi* (பாடி). Āyarpāḍi, Vyāsarpāḍi, Vāṇiyambāḍi, Āyampāḍi are settlements in the wooded land between the highlands and the lowlands. Villages situated in the arable tract are styled *ūr* (ஊர்). Uraiyūr, Nellūr, Ciṟṟūr, Pērūr, are the names of some of the ancient places in the arable tract. Hamlets in the littoral tract are known as *pākkam* (பாக்கம்). Paṭṭiṉappākkam, Kōḍambākkam are villages situated in the littoral region.[148]

The prefix *Ār* (ஆர்) in the place-names Ār-k-kāḍu, Ār-k-kōṇam (ஆர்க்கோணம்) and *Ārūr* (ஆரூர்), perhaps suggests the primitive condition of these places. Ārkāḍu was supposed to be a corruption of Āṟukāḍu (six forests) and was translated into Sanskrit as Ṣaḍ-āraṇya. Ārūr, now known as Tiruvārūr, is said to have been the capital of the Chōḻas in the pre-historic times. The tree known as " Ār " or " *Ātti* " (ஆத்தி), perhaps a corruption of Ārtti (ஆர்த்தி) must have existed in abundance in the territory of the Chōḻas in ancient times. It is significant that the garland of the royal dynasty of the Chōḻas was made of Ātti flowers. It is possible that the place covered by the Ātti forest was given the name Ārkāḍu. Similarly a triangular piece of land abounding in Ātti trees received the name Ārkōṇam and the land cleared of the Ātti forest and rendered fit for the habitation of agricultural communities was denoted by the term Ārūr.

The physical geography of the ancient Tamil country may be gleaned from the terms connected with the names of the four main directions. The north and the south are denoted by the terms *vaḍakku* (வடக்கு) and *teṟku* (தெற்கு). The east and the west are signified in old Tamil by the words *kuṇakku* (குணக்கு) and *kuḍakku* (குடக்கு). The termination '*ku*' (கு) in these terms is a suffix denoting direction. From the roots of these words, other words have arisen which give us an insight into the extent of the Tamil land. *Vaḍuhu* (வடுகு)[149] is the name by which the Telugu Language and the Telugu country are known in the ancient Tamil Literature. The Tirupathi Hill is denoted

148. This distinction however is not systematically adopted. For instance Kapilar uses the word pākkam in connexion with Kuriñji. The place names terminating in pākkam sometimes refer to villages far away from the littoral region.

149. வடதிசை மருங்கின் வடுகு வரம்பாக-தொல். பொரு. 650, உரை.
வடகலை தென்கலை வடுகு கன்னடம்-கம்ப. தனியன்.

by the term *Vaḍamalai* (வடமலை) as it marked the northern limit of the Centamil country. The Āndhra is styled *Vaḍuhaṉ* (வடுகன்)—northerner. The wind blowing from the north is called *Vāḍai* or *Vaḍandai.*[150] Similarly from the root '*teṉ*' (தென்) which contains the idea of south, the word *teṉṉaṉ* (தென்னன்) is derived. *Teṉṉaṉ* signified the Pāṇḍyan who was the ruler of the southern kingdom. The people of the southern region were known as *Teṉṉar* and the southern breeze *teṉṟal* (தென்றல்).[151]

From the earliest times known to Tamil Literature, the sea formed the eastern boundary of the Tamil land. This perhaps accounts for the paucity of terms connected with the name of that direction. It is significant, however, that the eastern wind is known as *koṇḍal* (கொண்டல்).[152] The primitive people fancied that the clouds sucked the waters of the mighty ocean sustained the earth by gentle showers. This idea is embodied in the word *Kārkōḷ* (கார்கோள்) which signifies the ocean.[153] The rainclouds formed over the eastern seas are driven towards the lofty range of mountains near the western coast and hence the eastern wind that drives the pregnant clouds to the western hills as well as the clouds themselves are denoted by the common term *Koṇḍal.* It is probable that *Koṇḍal* signifies the monsoon winds blowing from the north-east.

From the root of the word denoting the west, several significant terms have originated. *Kuḍahu* (குடகு) the modern Coorg, literally means the western region. The venerable Agastya of the western hill is styled *Kuḍa-muṉi* (குடமுனி).[154] *Kōḍai* (கோடை) literally signifies the western wind. It was extended in the first instance to the season during which the western wind blows and ultimately to the intense heat of that season.[155] The country situated on the western frontier of the Tamil land is called *Kuḍanāḍu* (குடநாடு)—one of the twelve adjacent territories in which a crude dialect of Tamil prevailed in the olden days.[156]

150. வாடையினுமம் வீசும் வடகாற்றுவடந்தையென்ப-சூடாமணி நிகண்டு.

151. தென்கால், தென்றி=தென்றல்-சூடாமணி நிகண்டு.

152. சூடாமணி நிகண்டு.

153. கார்கோள் முகந்த கமஞ்சூல் மாமழை-திருமுரு. 7.

154, குடமுனிக்கு வலியுறுத்தார் கொல்லேற்றுப்பாகர்-காஞ்சிப்புராணம், தழுவக்குழைந்த. 248.

155. Tamil Lexicon.

156. தென்பாண்டி குட்டம் குடம்-தொல். சொல். 400, உரை.

SECTION II.

Diverse Changes in Semasiology

Semantics or the science of significations is an important branch of linguistics. The diverse changes that have taken place in the meanings of words have been studied and classified by philologists[157] under the heads, Restriction, Expansion, Degradation, Elevation and Variation. This classification is besed on the results of sense-changes. An attempt however has been made in recent times to classify sense-changes from a psychological point of view. Semasiology is based by this School of philologists upon the findings of experimental psychology.

In the present state of our knowledge of Tamil words, the application of the psychological method will not yield fruitful results. Sufficient material has not yet been gathered to furnish a satisfactory basis for a synthesis. An attempt is made in the following pages to describe the changes that meanings of words have undergone under the aforesaid heads.

RESTRICTION

Malaiyam : *Malaiyam* (மலையம்) is the poetical name of the Pothiya hill in the Western Ghats. The termination *am* in *Malaiyam* is an expletive suffix.[158] The generic term *Malai* or *Malaiyam,* (Mount), is restricted to Pothiyam by reason of its great celebrity. Pothiyil is a hill of hoary traditions. It is celebrated in ancient songs as 'the eternal

157. See Meaning and Change of Meaning by G. Stern, p.5.

158. Malaya is the Sanskrit name of the Western Ghats. Regarding this word Caldwell says " Mala (Ka, Ma, Te) a hill, a mountain ; Tamil, malai. This Dravidian root has found its way into the Sanskrit Lexicons as the base of Malaya, the Sanskrit name of the Western Ghats. (C. G. 622).

hill of the Tamil sage.'[159] The Southern breeze is glorified as *Malaiya-mārutham,* i.e., the gentle wind of *Malaiyam.* The *Malaiyam* of the south is placed on a par with the *Imayam* of the north by the national bards.[160] Thus the glorious traditions associated with the Pothiyam have exalted it as the hill of hills in the Tamil country.[161]

Poṉ : In the world of metals, the word *poṉ* (பொன்) has undergone a restriction in signification which is indicative of the sense of economic values that prevailed in the ancient Tamil land. *Poṉ* was originally a general term signifying metal. The specific metal under reference was left to be inferred from the context. Thus in the expression *tūṇḍiṟ-poṉ* (தூண்டிற்பொன்)[162]—the metal of the fish-hook, the word *Poṉ* denotes iron. In some cases the metal was indicated by its distinctive colour or other qualities. *Karumboṉ* (கரும்பொன்)—black metal — signified iron, *Veṇboṉ* (வெண்பொன்)—white metal-signified silver. *Aimboṉ* (ஐம்பொன்) is a compound of five metals.[163] In couree of time, however, the irresistible fascination of the yellow metal made it the metal *par excellence.* Hence the word *Poṉ* came to be restricted to gold. In due course, *poṉ* became a synonym for wealth. The goddess of wealth is styled *Poṉ.*

Malar : In the world of flowers, the Lotus holds a unique place. *Centāmarai* (செந்தாமரை)—the red Lotus, is a perennial source of delight for the poet and has formed the theme for 'the devout effusion of sacred eloquence.' *Centāmarai* is cherished as the seat of the Goddess of Riches, and *Veṇtāmarai* (வெண்தாமரை) is venerated as the seat of the Goddess of Learning. In Jainism Arhat (அருகன்) is hailed as 'The Lord who walked on the Lotus flower.'[164] Thus the Jaina poets vied with the Hindu bards in celebrating the Lotus. These

159. தென்தமிழ்நாட்டகன் பொதியில் ..என்றும் அவன் உறைவிடமாம்-கம்ப. நாடவிட்ட. 31.

160. சிலப். மங்கல. 14-18.

161. கலையுணர்வார் பலர்தாமும் தொன்று தொட்டிந் நாள்வரையும் கடல் சூழ்பாரின்
நிலைபெறுபொன் மலைவெள்ளி மலையாதி யனகோடி நிலவக்கண்டும்
புலைவெறுத்துச் சாபமிட்ட புகழ்முனிவன் வசிப்பிடமாம் பொதியை யென்னும்
மலையழகு மிகப்பொலிதல் உணர்ந்தன்றோ மலையம் என வகுக்கின்றாரே-
புலவர் புராணம், பொதியாசல. 44.

162. தூண்டிற்பொன் மீன்விழுங்கி யற்று, திருக்குறள், 931.

163. ஐம்பொன்-பொன், வெள்ளி, செம்பு, இரும்பு, ஈயம்-Tamil Lexicon.

164. மலர்மிசை நடந்த மலரடி-சிலப். நாடுகாண். 204.

traditions naturally led to the restriction of the general terms *pū* (பூ) and *Malar* (மலர்) to the Lotus flower.[165] The expressions *pātamalar* (பாதமலர்) and *malaraḍi* (மலரடி) raise at once the image of the Lotus-like feet of the Lord, in our mind.[166]

Ilai : The term *ilai* (இலை) denotes the leaves of all trees and plants except the palm.[167] Gradually however it came to be restricted to the leaves that were largely used in daily life. The plantain-leaf—perhaps the largest of the leaves—served as the eating-plate and the betel-leaf was used for chewing. These two leaves are denoted by the term *ilai*. *Ilai-vāṇiyaṉ* (இலை வாணியன்) — a corruption of *ilai-vāṇihaṉ* (இலைவாணிகன்) refers to the person "whose sole occupation is the cultivation of the betel creeper and selling of its leaves."[168] The English word betel is a corruption of the Tamil word *veṟṟilai* (வெற்றிலை) - the name by which the betel-leaf is commonly known in the Tamil country. "Betel passed into English through the Portuguese where it has assumed the form betre or betle."[169]

The betel has been the poor man's luxury from the earliest times and Marco Polo has testified to its universal use in the Pāṇḍya country in the 13th century.[169a] It is regarded in South India as the symbol of happiness and prosperity and hence freely distributed on auspicious occasions. A person who has not the wherewithal to chew betel is considered to be a wretch.[170]

A similar restriction has taken place in the meaning of the word *paccilai* (பச்சிலை). In ancient poetry *paccilai* is used in the general sense of green leaf.[171] But in modern usage it is restricted to the leaves having medicinal properties. The proverb that "the healing herb in the backyard is not utilised for medicine" (புழைக்கடைப்பச்சிலை மருந்துக்குதவாது) illustrates the truth of the old saying that familiarity breeds contempt.

165. பூவெனப்படுவது பொறிவாழ் பூவே-நால்வர் நாண்மணி. 40.

166. போற்றியருளுக நின்னுதியாம் பாதமலர், திருவாசகம், திருவெம். 20

167. தொல். பொருள். 641, 642.

168. Tamil Lexicon.

169. Hobson-Jobson.

169a. Marco Polo's Travels, p. 324.

170. வாய்க்கிலை யறிதலில்லான்-சிந்தாமணி, 1230; வெற்றிலை என்றுங் கண்டறியாதவன்-நச்சினார்க்கினியர் உரை.

171. யாவர்க்குமா மிறைவற்கொரு பச்சிலை-திருமந்திரம், 252.

Māṉ : The restriction in sense that has occurred in the terminology of wild life is no less significant. Originally the one-letter word '*mā*' (மா) signified animal in general. Different species of wild life were denoted by words expressive of their distinctive features or attributes. *Kaimmā* (கைம்மா) denoted the elephant; *pāymā* (பாய்மா) the horse; *arimā* (அரிமா) the lion; *muḷmā* (முள்மா) the porcupine; *kavari mā* (கவரிமா) a kind of deer, *Karu-mā* (கருமா) the pig and so forth.[172] As one-letter words in Tamil usually take nasal terminations for self-preservation or better enunciation *mā* became *māṉ* (மான்).[173] Thus originally there was no difference in sense between *mā* and *māṉ*. In course of time, however, the term *māṉ* came to be restricted to the species of wild life known as deer.

Āṉ : Another one-letter word that has undergone a restriction in sense is *ā* (ஆ). '*ā*' (ஆ) became *āṉ* (ஆன்) just as *mā* (மா) became *māṉ* (மான்). This word originally signified the female of the ox, the deer and the buffalo.[174] But usage has restricted it to the cow.

Kaṉṟu : The history of *kaṉṟu* (கன்று) is equally significant. It was originally a term common to the young of the elephant, the horse, the ass, the elk, the cow, the buffalo and some other creatures.[175] But in modern usage *kaṉṟu* is restricted to the young of the cow and the buffalo. In the colloquial dialect, *kaṉṟu* is corrupted into *kaṉṉu* and *kuṭṭi* a word which signifies the young of certain creatures[176] is added to it. Thus *Kaṉṉu-k-kuṭṭi* (கன்னுக்குட்டி) has become the common name for calf. The expression *kaṉṉuviḍal* (கன்னுவிடல்) literally means 'letting the calf.' As this is preliminary to milking the cow or buffalo, *kaṉṉuviḍal* denotes 'milking.'

Andaṇaṉ : The names of the castes and tribes of South India afford remarkable instances of contraction. *Andaṇaṉ* (அந்தணன்), literally means man of grace.' The quality of grace is indicated

172. யானை (மதமா, பெருமா, மந்தமா, மருண்மா).
புலி (வயமா, வெல்லுமா, பாய்மா); பன்றி (கருமா மைம்மா, கோட்டுமா);
காட்டுப்பசு (ஆமா, கவயமா).

173. ஆ, மா, கோ, னவ்வணையவும்பெறுமே—நன்னூல், 248.
அரிமா, அரிமான் (சிங்கம்); கவரிமா, கவரிமான் (ஒருவகைமான்);
ஆமா, ஆமான் (காட்டுப்பசு); கடுமா, கடுமான் (குதிரை).

174. திவாகரம்.

175. தொல். பொருள். 570, 571, 572, 573.

176. தொல். பொருள். 565, 568.

by the word *taṇ* (தண்) which is inserted between the prefix *am* (அம்) and the suffix *aṉ* (அன்). The exalted sense of the word is explained in the couplet :

அந்தணர் என்போர் அறவோர் மற்றெவ்வுயிர்க்கும்
செந்தண்மை பூண்டொழுக லான்.[177]

It is obvious that any person who has in him the Divine quality of grace is entitled to the name *andaṇaṉ*.[178] But it has come to denote a caste or community in South India.

Vēḷāḷaṉ : Similarly the etymological sence of *Vēḷāḷaṉ* (வேளாளன்) is farmer or cultivator. *Vēḷ* is an archaic word which signifies the earth.[179] It is possible that the people who cleared the land of wild growth and made it fit for cultivation were called *Vāḷāḷar* (*Vēḷ*—land, *āḷar*—owner).[180]. The term *Vēḷāḷar* has now become the name of a community.

Vāṇiyaṉ : The word *Vāṇiyaṉ* (வாணியன்) which is a corruption of *Vāṇihaṉ* (வாணிகன்) has undergone a curious restriction. *Vāṇihaṉ* was originally a generel name for hawker or merchant. The names of different commodities were prefixed to the term *vāṇihaṉ*, to distinguish between vendors of different articles. Thus we have *ilai-vāṇihaṉ* (இலை வாணிகன்), *appa vāṇihaṉ* (அப்ப வாணிகன்), *piṭṭu vāṇihaṉ* (பிட்டு வாணிகன்), *kūla vāṇihaṉ* (கூல வாணிகன்), etc. Cāttaṉār, the illustrious author of Maṇimēhalai was known as *Kūla-vāṇihaṉ-cāttaṉār* (கூலவாணிகன் சாத்தனார்) as he was a grain merchant. But the term *vāṇiyaṉ* now denotes the oil monger. The restriction is probably due to the large volume of business conducted by the oil merchant

177. திருக்குறள், 30.

178. அந்தணர் என்பது அழகிய தட்பத்தினையுடையாரென ஏதுப்பெயராகலின், அஃது அவ்வருளுடையார் மேலன்றிச் செல்லாதென்பது கருத்து (திருக்குறள், 30, பரிமேலழகர் உரை) அந்தத்தை அணவுவார் அந்தணர் என்பர் நச்சினார்க்கினியர்.

179. The derivation of vēḷāṇmai and vēḷāḷaṉ from vēḷ appears to be more natural than the derivation favoured by Caldwell and Kanakasabhai Pillai. According to these scholars Veḷḷāḷar—the lords of the flood—is a title expressive of their skill in controlling floods. However vēḷ in the sense of earth is not found in ancient literary usage. The Tamil Lexicon has given this meaning on the authority of the Jaffna Dictionary. Cf., however vēṭ-kō (வேட்கோ) vēḷ+kō=potter.

180. The title kiḷār (கிழார்) conferred on Veḷḷāḷas perhaps indicates that they had full proprietary rights in the soil cultivated by them. (Kiḷamai—right).

from the earliest times. The use of the gingili oil by the people of South India for various purposes naturally created a large and daily demand for it. "Give to the oil monger and keep the doctor away" is a proverb in Tamil.[181] Thus the important part that the dealer in oil played in the social economy of South India has led to the restriction of the general term *vāṇiyan* to the oil merchant.

Maṟavar: The word maṟavar (மறவர்) originally signified men endowed with military prowess. The primary sense of *maṟam* (மறம்) is heroism. The heroic chastity of Kaṇṇahi is styled *maṟa-k-kaṟpu* (மறக்கற்பு) by the commentator of Cilappadihāram.[182] The undaunted men who delighted in the performance of heroic deeds and who felt that a day passed without a deed of valour was a day lived in vain, were honoured with the title of *maṟavar.* An old poem speaks of "the furious *Maṟavars,* whose curled beards resemble the twisted horns of the stag, the loud twang of whose powerful bowstrings and the stirring sound of whose double-headed drums, compel even kings at the head of large armies to turn their back and fly."[183] But now the term *maṟavar* denotes a community in South India whose main occupation is agriculture.

Rāvuttar: The term *Rāvuttar* (ராவுத்தர்) is used in the southern districts with reference to Muhammadans. *Raut* is a Urdu word which signifies a cavalier. The plural suffix '*ar*' is commonly used as an honorific singular pronominal termination in the southern speech. This military term has now been adopted as the general title of the Muhammadan community.

Āmakkaḷ: It is remarkable that popular usage has effected corruptions and introduced restrictions in violation of literary and grammatical usage. *Makkaḷ* (மக்கள்) for instance is a general term of plurality common to the masculine and feminine genders. Thus *āṇ-makkaḷ* refers to the general body of men in human society and *peṇ-makkaḷ* signifies womankind. Curiously the compound *āṇ-makkaḷ* has been corrupted into *āmakkaḷ* (ஆமக்கள்)[183a] and employed to denote husband in the vulgar dialect. The plural term has been put to a singular use. In the same way the term *peṇ-cāti* (பெண்சாதி)

181. வைத்தியனுக்குக் கொடுப்பதை வாணியனுக்குக் கொடு-பழமொழி.
182. வீரபத்தினி-மறக்கற்புடையாள் ; சிலப். பதிகம், 42, அடி. உரை.
183. Tamils Eighteen Hundred years ago, p. 43.
183a. āmakkaṉ (ஆமக்கன்) is a corruption of āmakkḷ (ஆமக்கள்).

which obviously denotes the entire community of women, is commonly used with reference to wife.

Āḻwār: The term *Āḻwār* (ஆழ்வார்) used with reference to the canonised saints of the Vaishnava religion, is derived from the root *aḻ* (ஆழ்) which contains the sense of immersion. The saints and seers of the Jaina and Buddhist religions have also been styled *Aḻwārs*. The restriction of the general term *Āḻwār* to the high souls immersed in contemplation is indicative of the popular faith in the efficacy of meditation as a means of attaining salvation.

Aḍiyār: *Aḍiyār* (அடியார்) derived from *aḍi* (foot) commonly signifies persons who render service. In the terminology of religion it denotes the devotees. This signification is obviously based on the conception that God is the Lord of the universe and that the human soul can rise to its fullest height by devoted and loyal service.

Cēvahaṉ: *Cēvahaṉ* (சேவகன்) is derived from the Sanskrit *sēva* which signifies service. From the sovereign[184] who performs the stupendous service of protecting his subjects down to the humblest person who renders some service or other to himself or to his fellow-men, every one is therefore a *Cēvahaṉ*. However the restriction of the term in modern language to the policeman who is charged with the duty of maintaining order, is perhaps an evidence of the recognition by the people of the paramount necessity of preserving peace and order for the proper functioning of human society.

Uḍaimai: The restriction in the signification of certain words is indicative of the social opinions that prevailed in ancient times. The literal sense of *uḍaimai* (உடைமை) is possession.[185] It signifies not only the possession of earthly goods but of every quality of head or heart with which a person is endowed. *Aṟivuḍaimai* (அறிவுடைமை) is possession of knowledge; *Oḻukkamuḍaimai* (ஒழுக்கமுடைமை) is possession of character; Poruḷuḍaimai (பொருளுடைமை) is possession of wealth. The man possessed of wealth is generally honoured and respected by society. Hence the general term *uḍaimai* (உடைமை) is restricted to the possession of wealth. The possessor of wealth is called *uḍaiyār* (உடையார்).

184. சேவகன்சீர் கேளாத செவியென்ன செவியே-சிலப். ஆய்ச்சியர் குரவை.

185. எல்லாம்உன் அடிமையே எல்லாம்உன் உடைமையே-தாயுமானவர் பாடல், 49.

Inmai: The opposite of *uḍaimai* (உடைமை) is *iṉmai* (இன்மை). It is derived from the root '*il*' (இல்) and signifies the negation of possession. But *illāṉ* (இல்லான்) denotes the person destitute of riches. In the couplet of Tiruvaḷḷuvar

உடையார்முன் இல்லார்போல் ஏக்கற்றுங் கற்றார்
கடையரே கல்லா தவர்,[186]

uḍaiyār (உடையார்) and *illār* (இல்லார்) are used in the sense of 'haves' and 'have-nots.' The semantic contraction of these terms exemplifies the truth of the aphorism, (பொருளில்லார்க்கு இவ்வுலக மில்லை)[187] "this world is not for those that are without riches."

Pēṟu: The restriction that has taken place in the sense of the term *pēṟu* (பேறு) testifies to the fact that children were regarded as an invaluable treasure by the ancient Tamil community. *Pēṟu* is derived from the root *Peṟu* (பெறு) and signifies an acquisition.

"Of all that men acquire, we know not any greater gain,
Than that which by the birth of learned children men obtain,"[188]

says the poet. The parents are called *peṟṟōr* (பெற்றோர்) and the time of parturition or delivery is known as *pēṟu-kālam*.

iḻavu; The word *iḻavu* (இழவு) comes from the root '*iḻa*' (இழ) and signifies loss. It is therefore applicable to all kinds of loss. In poetry *iḻavu* (இழவு) is used in this general sense.[189] The destiny which is responsible for loss is denoted by the term *iḻavūḻ* (இழவூழ்) in Tirukkuṟaḷ.[190] But a comparative sense of values gradually led to the restriction of the word *iḻavu* (இழவு) to the loss of human life. *Iḻavōlai* (இழவோலை) denotes funeral intimation; *iḻavu-vīḍu* (இழவு வீடு) corrupted into *iḻavīḍu* refers to a house where death has taken place.

Aṟuppu: Several words are derived from the root '*aṟu*' (அறு)—to cut. *Aṟai* (அறை), *aṟuvai* (அறுவை), and *aṟuppu* (அறுப்பு) are

186. திருக்குறள், 395.
187. திருக்குறள், 247.
188. திருக்குறள், 61.
189. எளியேனுற்றுல் யாவதுனக்கிங் கிழவென்றுன்-கம்ப. ஊர்தேடு. 83.
190. திருக்குறள், 372.

derived from a common root. The apartment of a house is known as *aṟai* (அறை). *Aṟuvai* (அறுவை) is a literary word which means cloth. A piece of specific dimensions cut out of a long cloth woven in the loom has been aptly called *aṟuvai* (அறுவை). *Aṟuppu* (அறுப்பு) literally means the act of cutting. As agriculture is the general occupation of the great bulk of the people of South India, *aṟuppu* (அறுப்பு) and *aṟuvaḍai* (அறுவடை) are restricted to the act of cutting the crops and reaping the harvest. The expression *aṟuppu-k-kālam* (அறுப்புக் காலம்) signifies the harvest season. It is worthy of note that *aṟuttal* also denotes the cutting or severance of the marital tie. The cutting of the *tāli* (தாலி), the symbol of wedlock, indicates the dissolution of marital relations or the commencement of widowhood. Hence *aṟuttavaḷ* (அறுத்தவள்) signifies the widow. In the colloquial dialect of the South the expression *aṟuppu-c-cuham* (அறுப்புச் சுகம்) refers to the maintenance to which a widow is entitled, out of the estate of her deceased husband.

Paṇḍam: *Paṇḍam* (பண்டம்) is a general term for commodity. The ancient system of barter is known as *paṇḍamāṟṟu* (பண்டமாற்று), exchange of commodities. The store-house of commodities is called *paṇḍa-sālai* (பண்டசாலை). The cart came to be known as *paṇḍi* (பண்டி) probably because its main purpose in the olden days was the transport of commodities from place to place. There is evidence in Tamil literature to show that ancient times persons of rank or distinction used the palanquin and the mule for locomotion.[191] The name of the mule—*kōvēṟu-kaḻuthai* (கோவேறு கழுதை) indicates the purpose served by this beast of burden in primitive times. The practice of conveying commodities by means of country carts still prevails in South India. Though the common term used with reference to the cart is *vaṇḍi* (வண்டி) in the modern language, there is hardly any doubt that *paṇḍi* is the primitive form of the word.[192]

The obscuration of the etymological sense of *paṇḍi* has led to the expansion of its scope. The spring-cart is known as *vil-vaṇḍi* (வில்

191. அறத்தா றிதுவென வேண்டா சிவிகை
பொறுத்தா னேடூர்ந்தா னிடை—திருக்குறள், 37.

192. மல்லலங் தெங்கிள நீர்பெய் பண்டியும்
மெல்லிலைப் பண்டியும் கமுகின் மேதகு
பல் பழுக் காய்க்குலை பெய்த பண்டியும்
ஒல்குதீம் பண்டம் பெய்தொழுகு பண்டியும்—சிந்தாமணி, 62.

In Telugu and Kanarese, Banḍi signifies the cart. The English word Bānḍi is a corruption of this form.

வண்டி); the railway train *Rayil-vaṇḍi* (ரயில் வண்டி) and so forth. The rural folk who are conscious of the rising dignity and rapid extension of the term *vaṇḍi* have deemed it necessary to distinguish the country cart by attaching to *vaṇḍi* the archaic word *cahaḍam* which, in virtue of its ancient flavour is perhaps best fitted to denote the primitive type of carriage. Thus the doublet *cahaḍa-vaṇḍi* (சகட வண்டி) now corrupted into *cakkadāvaṇḍi* (சக்கடா வண்டி) signifies the plain, open country-cart used mainly for the conveyance of commodities. It is remarkable that *paṇḍam* (பண்டம்) which gave rise to *paṇḍi* (பண்டி) is restricted in modern popular usage to cakes and sweet-meats.

Poḍi : The literal sense of *poḍi* (பொடி) is dust or powder.[193] The sacred ashes are denoted by the term *poḍi* in Tēvāram [194] In popular parlance tooth-powder is called *Paṟ-poḍi* (பற்பொடி) and chilli-powder *miḷahāi-p-poḍi* (மிளகாய்ப்பொடி). But the restriction of the word *poḍi* to snuff in modern usage is perhaps indicative of the popularity of tobacco-powder as a stimulant in South India. The expression *Paṭṭaṇam poḍi* (பட்டணம்பொடி) does not refer to the dust of the city but to the high class snuff manufactured in the city (of Madras).

Kalavai : The luxurious life led by the upper classes in ancient Tamil India may be understood from the restriction of the general term *kalavai* (கலவை) — mixture — to the sweet-smelling paste consisting of sandal and other odorous ingredients. [195]

EXPANSION

Ellai : *el*, *elli* and *ellai* (எல், எல்லி, எல்லை) denote day or day-light.[196] It is natural that the setting of the sun and the consequent disappearance of light marked a definite limit of time to the primitive man who was unaware of the modern contrivances of

193. மெய்யிற் பொடியும் விரித்த கருங்குழலும்—சிலப். வழக்கு. வெண்பா.

194. பொடியேறு திருமேனி பொலிந்து தோன்றும்-திருநாவுக்கரசர் தேவாரம், திருப்பூவணம், 1.

195. மாடுழுத நறுங்கலவை வயக்களிற்றின் சிந்துரத்தை மாறுகொள்ள—கம்ப. ஊர்தேடு. 217.

196. எல்-பகற்பொழுது ; எல்லடிப் படுத்த கல்லாக் காட்சி—புறம். 170 : 3.
எல்லி-பகற்பொழுது ; இரவோ டெல்லியு மேத்துவார்—தேவாரம்.
எல்லை-பகற்பொழுது ; எல்லையு மிரவும் துயில் துறந்து-கலித்தொகை, 123.

dispelling darkness. The primitive people who lived a natural life, saw the animate world terminating its activities at the close of the day. The birds ceased to sing and sought repose; the flowers, with few exceptions closed their petals. In fact the conduct of every significant object in Nature indicated that sun-set was a limit. Thus *ellai* (எல்லை) came to denote limit. The modern sense of boundary or territorial limit has been acquired by an extension of its application from the limit of time to the limit of space.

Cuḍar: The word *cuḍar* (சுடர்) is obviously derived form the root *cuḍu* (சுடு) which contains the idea of heat. It was naturally applied in the first instance to the sun and fire which emit heat.[197] In these natural elements light is inseparably connected with heat. Hence, *cuḍar* (சுடர்) came to denote light as well. Luminous bodies such as the moon and the planets also are now denoted by the term.[197a]

Urai: The semantic history of the word *urai* (உரை) is one of systematic expansion. The original sense of *urai* (உரை) is expression. *Muhavurai*, (முகவுரை), *aṇindurai* (அணிந்துரை), *puṉaindurai* (புனைந்துரை) and *puṟavurai* (புறவுரை) signify the foreword.[198] The first stage of expansion is marked by its acquiring the sense of exposition. An explanation, annotation or commentary came to be called *urai* (உரை). The terms *padavurai* (பதவுரை), *poḻippurai* (பொழிப்புரை) *karutturai* (கருத்துரை), *ciṟṟurai* (சிற்றுரை) and *ahalavurai* (அகலவுரை) denote different kinds of exposition.[199] The next stage in the semantic progress of the word is reached when it is employed to denote the medium of exposition. Thus *Urai* (உரை) conveys the sense of prose. *Urainaḍai* (உரைநடை) is prose style. A composition or an essay in prose is commonly denoted by the term *kaṭṭurai* (கட்டுரை).[200] In the modern journalistic world *urai* (உரை) is being used with reference to lectures or addresses. *Mnṉṉurai* (முன்னுரை)—Introductory Speech; *Muḍivurai* (முடிவுரை) is concluding speech; *Vāḻtturai* (வாழ்த்துரை) is

197. சுடர் சுட்ட சுரத்தேறி-புறம். 136. விளக்கினுள் ஒண்சுடர்-நாலடியார், 189.

197a. சுடர்க்கெலாம் நாயக மனையதோர் மாலை நல்கினுள் - கம்ப. மந்தரை சூழ்ச்சி. 52.

198. நன்னூல்-பொதுப்பாயிரம், 1.

199. நன்னூல்-பொதுப்பாயிரம்,21.

200. கட்டுரை-பொருள் பொதிந்த சொல் ; உறுதியையுடைய சொல்லுமாம்-சிலப். பதிகம், 54-அடியார்க்கு நல்லார் உரை. கலைபயில் தெளிவும் கட்டுரை வன்மையும்-நன்னூல், பொதுப்பாயிரம், 26.

valedictory address and so forth. Thus through successive stages of easy and natural transition *urai* has expanded from expression to exposition, from exposition to composition in prose and finally from composition to platform oration.

Puḷḷi *Puḷḷi* (புள்ளி) is a dot. The consonant in Tamil is known as *Puḷḷi* because the dot over the letter constitutes its characteristic sign.[201] In the modern journalistic usage the word *puḷḷi* (புள்ளி) has acquired the sense of statistics. Statistical information or facts and figures are commonly denoted by the expressison, *puḷḷi-vivaram* (புள்ளி விவரம்). In the colloquial dialect Puḷḷi conveys the sense of a specified or noted person. A deserving person is *perumbuḷḷi* (பெரும் புள்ளி); a worthless person is *veṟumbuḷḷi* (வெறும்புள்ளி) and so forth.

Māṟṟam; *Māṟṟam* (மாற்றம்) is derived from *māṟu* (மாறு) which signifies change. An exchange of commodities is known as *paṇḍa-māṟṟu.* Gold which commands a high exchange-value is denoted by the expression *māṟṟuyarnda poṉ* (மாற்றுயர்ந்த பொன்). Thus *māṟṟam* (மாற்றம்) litterally signifies a word exchanged or a reply. However, it is not restricted in literary usage to the reply but employed to denote in general a word spoken or written. This extension of sense must have taken place very early in the history of the Tamil Language, since *māṟṟam* has been used in the ancient poems in the sense of word.[202] It is remarkable that *Māṭṭa* (Telugu) which corresponds to *māṟṟam* (Tamil) conveys also the same sense.

Paccai: The word *paccai* (பச்சை) is obviously connected with *pasumai* (பசுமை) which is the natural colour of the living plants and trees. In course of time *paccai* came to denote the quality of a thing existing in its natural state. Unbaked earth is *paccai maṇ* (பச்சை மண்) in contra-distinction to *cuṭṭa maṇ* (சுட்ட மண்)— baked earth.[203] Unboiled water is known as *paccai-t-taṇṇir* (பச்சைத் தண்ணீர்) in the popular dialect of the southern districts. An unsophisticated child is referred to as *paccai-k-kuḻanthai* (பச்சைக் குழந்தை). The idea of rawness is also associated with the term *paccai.* Raw rice is known as *paccarisi* (பச்சரிசி) which is distinguished from *puḻukkarisi* (புழுக் கரிசி) boiled rice. A medicine prepared from drugs in a raw state is commonly called *paccai-veṭṭu-marundu* (பச்சை வெட்டு மருந்து).

201. மெய்யின் னியற்கை புள்ளியொடு நிலையல்—தொல். எழுத்து. 15.

202. விடுமாற்றம் வேந்தர்க் குரைப்பான்—திருக்குறள், 689.

203. சுட்டமண்ணும் பச்சைமண்ணும் ஒட்டுமா ?—பழமொழி.

Cembu: *Cembu* (செம்பு) signifies copper. It is evident that the colour of the metal has been the dominant factor in determining its name. This metal was perhaps largely used in primitive times for making drinking vessels of a particular shape and size. The name of the metal viz., *cembu* was adopted as the name of the vessel. In course of time, however, the word was associated with the vessel and dissociated from the metal of which it was made. Hence vessels of that size and shape made of any metal came to be called *cembu* (செம்பு).[204] The name of the metal concerned however is usually prefixed to *cembu* to denote its composition. Thus *pittaḷai-c-cembu* (பித்தளைச் செம்பு); *veḷḷi-c-cembu* (வெள்ளிச் செம்பு); *taṅga-c-cembu* (தங்கச் செம்பு); and *ceppu-c-cembu* (செப்புச் செம்பு) are commonly used as the incongruity of the combinations is not noticed by the commuity.

Mai: The original meaning of *mai* (மை) is blackness. Gradually objects bearing the black pigment used for tinting the eye-lids, the lubricant for the country cart, the black ink are all denoted by the word *mai*. In modern usage, however, the word *mai* used with reference to writing signifies not merely the black ink but any coloured liquid. Hence the expressions *civappu mai* (சிவப்பு மை) and *paccai mai* (பச்சை மை) are commonly used. The extension of the semantic scope of this word kas rendered it necessary to indicate the black ink by the expression *kaṟuppu mai* (கறுப்பு மை).

Kaṟai: Similarly the word *kaṟai* (கறை) derived from the crude root *kaṟ* signifies blackness. The black stain in the throat of the Lord Siva it styled *kaṟai*.[205] But in modern usage *kaṟai* simply means stain. Yellow-stain is *mañjaḷ-kaṟai* (மஞ்சள் கறை) and blood stain *Iratta-k-kaṟai* (இரத்தக் கறை). This extension has naturally led to the black stain being called *kaṟuppu-k-kaṟai*.

Ūrdal: The verbal noun *ūrdal* (from *ūr*-to crawl) was originally used in the sense of crawling or moving slowly. In the classification of the animate world the crawling creatures are denoted by the term

204. Combu (சொம்பு) is a corruption of cembu (செம்பு) in the colloquial dialect. The change of e into o is a common feature in the colloquial dialect, e.g., peṭṭi (பெட்டி) > poṭṭi (பொட்டி)
ceruhu (செருகு) > coruhu (சொருகு)
meḻuhu (மெழுகு) > moḻuhu (மொழுகு)
mella (மெல்ல) > meḷḷa (மெள்ள) > moḷḷa (மொள்ள).

205. கறைமிடற்றிறை-கம்ப. திருவவதார. 14.

ūrvaṉa (ஊர்வன).[206] The verbal noun *ūrdi* (ஊர்தி) derived from the root *ūr* was probably applied to the slow coach in the first instance and then extended to every kind of carriage. The aerial coach is signified by the term *vāṉa-ūrdi* (வான ஊர்தி) in an old poem.[207] The moon which seems to crawl across the clouds in the sky is described by the charming phrase *vāṉūr-madiyam* (வானூர் மதியம்) in cilappadihār-am.[208]

Eṇṇei: *Eṇṇei* (எண்ணெய்) —*eḷ*+*nei*—literally signifies *gingili* oil.[209] In course of time, however, the etymological import of the term was forgotten and it came to denote oil in general. Hence the oil extracted from seeds other than sesame is also signified by the term *eṇṇei*. The oil extracted from castor seeds is called *āmaṇakku eṇṇei* (ஆமணக்கு எண்ணெய்). Cocoanut oil is *tēṅgāy eṇṇei* (தேங்காய் எண்ணெய்). The application of the term is not confined to the oil extracted from seeds and nuts, but is extended to all kinds of oily substances. Codliver-oil is *mīṉ-eṇṇei* (மீன் எண்ணெய்). Kerosine oil is *maṇ-eṇṇei* (மண் எண்ணெய்). The purpose for which the oil is used sometimes determines its name. The castor oil used for lamps is known as *viḷakkeṇṇei* (விளக்கெண்ணெய்).[210] The wide expansion of *eṇṇei* necessitated a revision of the original semantic values. Since the term *eṇṇei* could not specifically denote gingili oil, popular usage has adopted the device of distinguishing it by a participial prefix which indicates its quality. *Nalleṇṇei* (நல்லெண்ணெய்)—good or wholesome oil, signifies gingili oil in the colloquial dialect. The oil extracted from black sesame *kār-eḷ* (காரெள்) is commonly known as *kāreḷ-eṇṇei* (காரெள் எண்ணெய்). The repetition of the word *eḷ* (எள்) in this compound is obviously due to the obscuration of the etymological sense of *eṇṇei*.

DEGRADATION

Kāmam: The word *kāmam* (காமம்) is generally banished from the language of decent society on account of its degradation. *Kāmi*

206. தெரிவாக ஊர்வன நடப்பன பறப்பன-தாயுமானவர் பாடல், 5.

207. வலவனேவா வான ஊர்தி-புறம். 27, 8.

208. சிலப். மங்கல. 50.

209. In the colloquial dialect eṇṇei (எண்ணெய்) is corrupted into eṇṇay (எண்ணை); Cf. மஞ்சணெய் (மஞ்சள்+நெய்) —மஞ்சணை; நன்செய்-நஞ்சை.

210. In Malayalam, veḷicceṇṇai (வெளிச்செண்ணை) which perhaps means lamp oil is the common name for cocoanut oil.

(காமி) has been included in the list of persons who are declared ineligible to receive instruction.[211] This disqualification has been imposed obviously on grounds of morality. But there is nothing in the etymological sense of the word to warrant this condemnation. The Sanskrit derivative *kāmam* literally signifies desire. In course of time, however, it was restricted by usage to sexual desire—the most potent and universal of human desires. The God of Love in the Hindu Mythology is known as *Kāmaṉ* and as He awakens love in human hearts he is styled *Kāmavēḷ* (காமவேள்).[212] *Kāmam* is cherished as one of the four objectives of life and the prince of moralists—Thiruvaḷḷuvar—did not disdain to use the term *kāmattu-p-pāl* (காமத்துப் பால்) as the caption of the last canto of his classical work.[213]

The cause of the degradation of this term should perhaps be sought in the struggle for existence between *kādal* (காதல்) and *kāmam* (காமம்) which are practically synonymous. In modern usage *kādal* denotes love and *kāmam* is confined to lust.

Tēvaḍiyāḷ: The practice of dedicating girls to the service of God has been in existence from time out of memory. Their service consisted in sweeping and washing the house of the Lord, gathering flowers, making garlands to adorn His image, lighting the halls of the temple at sunset and so forth. The spirit of self-sacrifice and sense of duty that animated these noble girls inspired universal admiration. The high

211. களி மடிமானி காமி கள்வன்......இன்னோர்க்குப் பகரார் நூலே-நன்னூல், பொதுப்பாயிரம். 39.

212. காமவேள் என்னும் நாமத்தண்ணல், கம்ப. மாயாசனக. 12.

213. மாணபாய, காமத்தின் பக்கமொரு மூன்றாகக் கட்டுரைத்தார்—

திருவள்ளுவமாலை, 27. The early missionaries who set themselves the task of translating the Kuṟaḷ into the European Languages were evidently shocked at this title. Regarding Kāmattu-p-pāl, Rev. Drew said that "it could not be translated into any European language without exposing its translator to infamy." The confessions of Dr. Pope may be considered in this connection. "This prejudice" says Pope, "kept me from reading the third part of the Kuṟaḷ for some years; but the idea occurred to me very forcibly that he who wrote

"Spotless be thou in mind! This only merits virtue's name
All else, mere pomp and idle sound, no real worth can claim,"

could not have covered himself with the spotted infamy of singing a song of lust. Thus I ventured at length to read and study it, when I was able fairly to appreciate its spirit; and, as the result, I translate it, believing that I shall be regarded as having done service in doing so." — Pope's Kuṟaḷ, Intro., p. 13.

respect in which they were held is indicated by the terms *dēva-dāsi* and *dēva-aḍiyāḷ* (தேவ அடியாள்), the maid-servant of the Lord—used with reference to them. However, the act of dedication gradually became the regular practice of a community, and it was not always dictated by considerations of selfless service. Girls who were not religious-minded and who were reluctant to renounce the pleasures of life were dedicated to the temple with the result that they disgraced the office which they were supposed to adorn. The place of their daily service afforded ample opportunities of courting the gaze of men who came to pray. Thus the term *dēva-aḍiyāḷ* came to denote the courtesan. The degradation which the word has suffered can be understood from the fact that no term of abuse in the Tamil vocabulary is resented more than *tēvaḍiyāḷ* used with reference to a woman, and *tēvaḍiyāḷ mahan̲* (தேவடியாள் மகன்) used with reference to a man.

Kūtti : The art of dancing was very popular in ancient days. It received the munificent patronage of royalty and the nobility.[214] The popularity that it enjoyed was perhaps due to its association with religion. The male dancer was called *kūttan̲* (கூத்தன்) and the female dancer, *kūtti* (கூத்தி).[215] The terminations '*an̲*' and '*i*' in these words are masculine and feminine suffixes. In course of time, however, the art of dancing came to be confined to the community which dedicated girls to the service of God. The *dēva-dāsi* in addition to her routine services in the temple danced on festive occasions to the delight of the vast concourse of votaries. Thus the terms *dēva-dāsi* and *kūtti* became synonyms. In modern usage *kūtti* denotes the prostitute without any reference to her attainments in the art of dancing.

Muṇḍai : The terms *muṇḍan̲* (முண்டன்) and *muṇḍai* (முண்டை) are derived from the Sanskrit *muṇḍa.* The former denotes a clean-shaven man and the latter a clean-shaven woman. The practice of shaving the head of a woman on the death of her husband led to the word *muṇḍai* being used with reference to the widow. As the woman who survived her husband was considered an execrable creature, whose very sight was an abomination, the term *muṇḍai* has acquired an odious signification.

214. சிலப். அரங்கேற்று. (158-163).

215. சிலப். அரங்கேற்று. கூத்தியதமைதி.

Kaimpeṇḍāṭṭi: Another word degraded by the force of social opinion is *kai-m-peṇḍāṭṭi* (கைம்பெண்டாட்டி), widow. Widowhood is denoted by the word *kaimmai* (கைம்மை)[216] in the classical dialect. A widow is known as *kaimpeṇ* (கைம்பெண்). *Peṇḍāṭṭi* (பெண்டாட்டி) which was once commonly used in poetry and elegant prose in the sense of wife is now degraded and consigned to the vocabulary of the vulgar society. It is possible that familiarity has bred contempt for *peṇḍāṭṭi* (பெண்டாட்டி). *Kaimpeṇḍāṭṭi* (கைம்பெண்டாட்டி), a compound containing the term *peṇḍāṭṭi* has suffered a double degradation. The disrepute of the person denoted by it and the degradation of the second member of the compound have contributed to its semantic deterioration. *Kaimpeṇḍāṭṭi* corrupted into *kammaṉāṭṭi* has passed into the vocabulary of Billingsgate.

Ciṟukki: The terms *ciṟuvaṉ* (சிறுவன்) and *ciṟukkaṉ* (சிறுக்கன்) denote the boy, and *ciṟuvi* (சிறுவி) and *ciṟukki* (சிறுக்கி) denote the girl.[218] The regularity of the formation of these words is obvious. However, these two words have given place to *ciṟumi* which is the common term for girl in the modern language. *Ciṟumi* is formed by the substitution of '*m*' for '*v*'. It has been pointed out by Aḍiyārkku-Nallār that the word *ciṟumi* employed in Cilappadihāram is a dialect of *Kuḍanāḍ*, one of the *Koḍun-tamiḻ* countries.[219] Provincial words have been, from time to time employed by poets of great celebrity and have thus acquired the status of literary words. It is probable that *ciṟumi* was one of the words whose status was raised by the authority of the poet who pressed it into service. When literary status was thus conferred on it, a struggle for existence between the three words commenced. The result of the contest was perhaps determined by euphony and *ciṟumi* was selected as the fittest word to survive. The defeat sustained by the indigenous words, led to the degradation of the one and the extinction of the other. *Ciṟukki* is now used as a term of disrespect or abuse and *ciṟuvi* is found only in archaic poetry.

Tūṟṟutal: The primitive sense of *tūṟṟu* (தூற்று) is to broadcast. If the virtues of a person are broadcast or proclaimed the expression

216. ஒண்ணுதல் மகளிர் கைம்மை கூர — புறம். 25, 12.
217. செல்வப் பெண்டாட்டிநீ—திருப்பாவை, 11.
218. ஆலினிலை வளர்ந்த சிறுக்கன்—பெரியாழ்வார், 1, 4, 7.
சிறுக்கிகள் உறவாமோ—திருப்புகழ், 145.
சிறுவி-மகள், சூடாமணி நிகண்டு.
219. தொல். சொல். 400, உரை.

cir-tūṟṟal (சீர் தூற்றல்)[220] is employed to denote the act. If, on the other hand, the vices of a person are proclaimed the act is signified by the term *avatūṟu* (அவதூறு). The common nature of man to suppress the virtues and proclaim the vices of his fellow-men is reflected in the restriction of the term *tūṟu* or *tūṟṟal* to the publication of vices or demerits. Thus in the modern language *tūṟṟutal* (தூற்றுதல்) definitely signifies slandering or speaking ill of a person.

Puṟaṅgūṟal: The depravity of human nature is also reflected in the change that has taken place in the meaning of the expression *puṟaṅgūṟal*—(புறங்கூறல்)—*puṟam*—back, *kūṟal*—speaking, which literally means speaking behind one's back. It is the tendency of human nature to flatter a man to his face and speak ill of him behind his back. There are persons good and true who never speak ill of others either in their presence or in their absence. But these virtuous persons are so rare that their nature is an exception which proves the rule. The reprehensible but common habit of humanity accounts for the restriction and degradation of the expression *puṟaṅgūṟal*. Back biting is denoted by it in the modern language.[221]

Puhal: The ancient Tamils considered it a meritorious act to afford shelter and protection to an afflicted person who sought refuge. The word *puhal* (புகல்) derived from the root *puhu* (புகு)—to enter—signifies the act of seeking protection and as an appeal for protection was seldom refused, *puhal* came to denote a refuge.[222] A place of refuge is known as *puhaliḍam* or *puhalūr*. The word of protection was regarded as a sacred promise worthy of any sacrifice. Ancient literature speaks of the glory of the high-souled men who ungrudgingly sacrificed their lives in the cause of the sacred trust committed to their charge.[223] The deterioration of this term which is associated with the lofty ideal of self-sacrifice is sufficient evidence of the moral degeneracy of modern society. *Puhal vārttai* (புகல் வார்த்தை) in the modern popular usage signifies not a word of assurance but an insincere or evasive word.[224]

220. சீரெல்லாம் தூற்றிச் சிறுமை புறங்காத்து—நீதிநெறி விளக்கம், 20.
துன்னியார் குற்றமும் தூற்று மியல்பினர்—திருக்குறள், 188.

221. புறங்கூறிப் பொய்த்துயிர் வாழ்தலிற் சாதல்
அறங்கூறு மாக்கந் தரும்—திருக்குறள், 183.

222. பற்றுதலின் றியுண்டோ புகலெமைப் பகர்கின்றானே—கம்ப. வீடணன். 108.

223. கம்ப. வீடணன் அடைக்கலப் படலம், 110-116.

224. புகல் வார்த்தை—போக்குச் சொல்—Tamil Lexicon.

Cūḻcci: The root *cūḻ* (சூழ்) literally means to surround. *Cūḻal* (சூழல்), a verbal noun derived from this root signifies an enclosure. *Cūḻcci* (சூழ்ச்சி), another noun derived from the same root denotes the act of comprehending a thing in all its aspects or of considering a question from all possible points of view. A person who is endowed with this capacity is known as *cūḻvāṉ* (சூழ்வான்)[225]. In modern usage, however, *cūḻcci* has acquired an uncomplimentary sense. It is generally associated with intrigue, diplomacy or conspiracy. The degradation of the term is perhaps due to the ordinary human frailty of putting noble gifts to ignoble uses.

Āṇḍi: *Āṇḍi* (ஆண்டி) is derived from the root *āḷ* (ஆள்) which forms the base of the words *āṇḍai* (ஆண்டை), *āṇḍāṉ* (ஆண்டான்), *āḷi* (ஆளி), etc. The Lord of Paḻaṉi is popularly known as *Paḻaṉiyāṇḍy* and *Āṇḍippaṇḍāram* in the familiar ballad refers to him. The Lord of Tiruchendūr situated on the sea-shore is popularly known as *kaḍal-karai-āṇḍi*. The term *āṇḍi*, however, is now restricted to the Saiva mendicant.[226] The expression *pūccāṇḍi* (பூச்சாண்டி) frequently invoked by parents to frighten children into submission, probably signifies the mendicant whose body is smeared with holy ashes and sandal paste presenting an odd appearance.[227]

Pāvi: *Pāvi* (பாவி) signifies a sinner. *Appāvi* (அப்பாவி) denotes a sinless person, as the initial '*a*' is a negative prefix. In modern usage, however, *appāvi* denotes an artless, credulous simpleton. "This deflection from the original sense," says Trench, "bears testimony to the moral perversity of the human race. Words like this 'bear on them the slime of the serpent's trail'."[228]

Maruttuvaṉ, *Maruttuvacci*: The words *maruttuvaṉ* (மருத்துவன்) and *maruttuvacci* (மருத்துவச்சி) are obviously derived from *marundu* (மருந்து), medicine. A medical practitioner was called *maruttuvaṉ* or *maruttuvacci* according to the sex of the person. An old Tamil poet and critic was known among his contemporaries as *Maruttuvaṉ*

225. சூழ்வார் கண்ணாக ஒழுகலாம் மன்னவன்
சூழ்வாரைச் சூழ்ந்து கொளல்—திருக்குறள், 445.

226. Tamil Lexicon.

227. According to the Tamil Lexicon, pūccāṇḍi is composed of pūcci and āṇḍi (Pūccāṇḍi—An imaginary being invoked to frighten children; bugbear; hobgoblin).

228. Trench—The Study of words, p. 95.

Tāmōdaraṉ as he was a doctor as well as a scholar. But now *maruttuvaṉ* has deteriorated so much that even the most enthusiastic exponent of the indigenous system of medicine will be ashamed to be called a *maruttuvaṉ*.[229] The word *maruttuvacci* has similarly suffered a restriction and degradation. It signifies in popular parlance a mid-wife.

Ūḻiyam: *Ūḻiyam* (ஊழியம்) connected with *ūḻ* (ஊழ்), destiny-probably signifies customary or hereditary service,—i.e. service which a person is called upon to render not for wages or remuneration, but in pursuance of immemorial custom or ancestral obligations. Such a service will naturally be perfunctory and unsatisfactory. Hence *ūḻiyam* in popular language denotes worthless service. It is a matter of common knowledge that *sarkkār ūḻiyam* (சர்க்கார் ஊழியம்)—perhaps the customary mamul service rendered gratis to the government—connotes inefficient service. The etymological sense of *ūḻiyam* is probably indicated in the term *podu-jaṉa-ūḻiyaṉ* (பொது ஜன ஊழியன்) applied to a person who devotes himself to the service of humanity without any consideration of reward or recompense.

Cēri: The original sense of *cēri* (சேரி) derived from the root *cēr* (சேர்), to collect, is a collection of huts or houses. The termination *cēri* in certain place-names serves to indicate the nature of the original habitation. *Puduccēri* means a new hamlet; *Vaḍacēri* is northern hamlet; *Talai-c-cēri* is principal hamlet; *Ādi-c-cēri* is degraded hamlet.[230] In some cases *cēris* have been named after the clans or communities which originally founded them. For instance, *Kārsēri* denotes the hamlet of *Kārāḷar*, in the Tinnevelly District. Similary the habitation of the *Paḷḷas* is known as *Paṭcēri* (பட்சேரி) which has become *Paccēri* (பச்சேரி) by the phonetic law of assimilation. The hamlet of the *Paṟayas* was called *Pāṟaiccēri* (பறைச்சேரி).[231] In course of time *cēri* was confined to the hamlets inhabited by the so-called "untouchables", particularly the *Paḷḷas* and the *Paṟiahs*. Hence in modern ugage *cēri* denotes the habitation of these classes situated at a respectable distance from the village or town.

229. It seems that a community in South India has assumed the name maruttuva kulam in recent times.

230. Aḍi-c-cēri-yāḷ corrupted into aḍiccariyāḷ denotes the prostitute in the colloquial dialect of the southern distiricts of the Tamil country.

231. Peruṅgadai speaks of Several cēris:—yavaṉa-c-cēri; tamiḻa-c-cēri; antaṇar cēri; amaiccar cēri, etc. Ref. Peruṅgadai, III, 4, (7, 11, 12, 13).

Nāṟṟam: The original sense of the word *nāṟṟam* (நாற்றம்) is sweet smell. The abstract noun *naṟumai* (நறுமை) derived from the root *nāṟu* (நாறு) signified good smell.[232] *Naṟu* (நறு) was used in old Tamil in connection with words which signified sweet smelling things. The expressions, *naṟu malar* (நறு மலர்), *naṟu ney* (நறு நெய்) etc.,[233] are found in ancient poetry. The first statge of the degeneration of this word is marked by the expansion of its scope, so as to make it convey the general sense of smell. Thus *nāṟṟam* came to be used also in connection with objects emitting foul odour, such as putrified meat, carcass, etc., e.g., *pulāl nāṟṟam* (புலால் நாற்றம்), *piṇa nāṟṟam* (பிண நாற்றம்).[234] The final stage of degradation was reached when the term came to denote definitely bad odour, in the colloquial dialect. It is significant that *nāṟal* (நாறல்) is now used only with reference to things emitting bad smell. *Nāṟal ney* (நாறல் நெய்), corrupted into *nāṟaney* is distinguished from *nalla ney* (நல்ல நெய்) — good ghee.

ELEVATION

Piḷḷai: In the earliest usage *piḷḷai* (பிள்ளை) signified the tender stage of plants, and the young of animals, birds and crawling creatures.[235] The infant cocoanut palm is commonly called *teṉṉam piḷḷai* (தென்னம் பிள்ளை). The parrot, the squirrel and the mongoose are fondly called *kiḷi-p-piḷḷai* (கிளிப்பிள்ளை), *aṇiṟ piḷḷai* (அணிற்பிள்ளை) and *kīri-p-piḷḷai* (கீரிப்பிள்ளை). In the ancient literary usage the offspring of human beings were signified by the terms *mahavu* (மகவு) and *kuḻavi* (குழவி).[236] Gradually, piḷḷai which had become a term of endearment was applied to the human offspring, and since it was neuter, the sex denoting terms *āṇ* (ஆண்) and *peṇ* (பெண்) were prefixed to it when necessary. Thus *āṇ-piḷḷai* and *peṇ-piḷḷai* were used with reference to boys and girls. The expressions *āṇ-piḷai-p-piḷḷai* (ஆண்பிளைப் பிள்ளை) and *peṇ-piḷai-p-piḷḷai* (பெண்பிளைப் பிள்ளை) in which *piḷḷai* is reduplicated are absurd creations of popular usage. There is a tendency in the colloquial dialect to restrict the term *piḷḷai* to the boy, The question *piḷḷaiyā* (பிள்ளையா), *peṇṇā* (பெண்ணா)

232. Tamil Lexicon.

233. நறுமலர்க் கோதை-சிலப். மனையறம். 62. பொன்னின் சோதி போதின் இன் நாற்றம்-கம்ப. மிதிலைக்காட்சி.

234. புன்புலால் நாற்றம் புறம்பொதிந்து மூடினும் சென்று தைக்கும் சேயார் முகத்து-நீதிநெறி. 95.

235. தொல். பொருள். 556, 559, 560, 566.

236. தொல். பொருள். 556, 578. மடியகத்திட்டாள் மகவை-சிலப். கஉ. 22.

asked with reference to a child newly ushered into existence, is indicative of the popular restriction of the word *piḷḷai* to the male child. The practice of associating *piḷḷai* (பிள்ளை) with the grandson and *peṇ* (பெண்) with the grand-daughter is also illustrative of the growing elevation and restriction of the former. The grand son is *pēra--p-piḷḷai* (பேரப்பிள்ளை) and the grand-daughter is *pētti-p-peṇ* (பேத்திப் பெண்). The elevation of *piḷḷai* may also be understood by its association with persons entitled to respect. The bridegroom is known as *māppiḷḷai* (மாப்பிள்ளை) or *maṇavāḷa-p-piḷḷai* (மணவாளப்பிள்ளை). The respectable *Veḷḷāḷas,* the agriculturists *par excellence* are hounoured by the title *piḷḷai* affixed to their names.

Pāppu: Like *piḷḷai, pārppu* (பார்ப்பு) was originally used in connection with the young of birds and crawling creatures.[237] *Pārppu* (பார்ப்பு) became *pāppu* (பாப்பு) by the elemination of the medial liquid mute. The elevation and restriction of this word may be understood from its application to young girls. *Pāppu* (பாப்பு) is the pet name for girl. It is well known that Bhārati's *Pāppā-p-pāṭṭu* (பாப்பாப் பாட்டு) is addressed to the girl of tender age.[238]

Iraval: The three words *iravu, irattal* and *iraval* (இரவு, இரத்தல், இரவல்) denote beggary. These terms are derived from the common root *ira* (இர)—to beg, by the addition of different suffixes of the verbal noun. The expression, *iraval-mākkaḷ* (இரவல் மாக்கள்) denotes beggars.[239] *Iravalaṉ* (இரவலன்)—beggar, is formed by attaching the masculine singular suffix *aṉ* (அன்)to the verbal noun *iraval* (இரவல்).[240] But in modern usage *iraval* denotes not begging but borrowing. A thing got from a person for temporary use is known as *iraval-cāmāṉ* (இரவல் சாமான்). This deviation from the literal sense which has resulted in the elevation of the term is perhaps due to the service condemnation of beggary as a demoralising and debasing act by the national poets whose words were cherished by the ancient community.

Naṉṟi: An act of goodness or kindness is denoted by the terms *nalam,* (நலம்), *naṉmai* (நன்மை), *naṉṟu* (நன்று) and *naṉṟi* (நன்றி)

237. தொல். பொருள். 559, 560, 569 (பார்ப்புடை மந்தி, குறுந். 278, என வருதலுமுண்டு).

238. ஓடிவிளையாடு பாப்பா-பாரதி பாடல், பாப்பாப்பாட்டு.

239. புறம். 333, 10.

240. புறம். 162, 1.

derived form the common root *nal* (நல்).[241] An act of kindness done in the hour of need (காலத்தினாற் செய்த நன்றி) outweighs the whole world, says the poet.[242] "It is improper and ignoble to forget an act of kindness done by another," says Tiruvaḷḷuvar.[243] This idea is probably responsible for importing into the word *nāṉṟi* (நன்றி) the sense of gratitude. While *nalam, naṉmai* and *naṉṟu* retain their original meaning of goodness, *naṉṟi* has, in modern usage, acquired the sense of gratitude. *Naṉṟi kūṟal* (நன்றி கூறல்) is now commonly used in the sense of passing a vote of thanks. This transference of sense perhaps bears testimony to the recognition of the principle that one good turn deserves another. "It is a matter of comment by Europeans," says Tagore "that we use no word like thanks in our own language for expressing gratitude, and they jump to the conclusion that our character must be free from that troublesome feeling."[244] The change that has been effected in the meaning of the word *naṉṟi* (நன்றி), a change which shows that gratitude is in the grain of our being, may be regarded as a sufficient refutation of the charge.

The observations of Trench regarding the word 'obligation' may be considered in this connection. "In 'oblige' and 'obligation' says Trench, as when we speak of being obliged or having received an obligation, a moral truth is asserted,—namely, that having received a benefit or a favour at the hands of another we are thereby morally bound to show ourselves grateful for the same. We cannot be ungrateful without denying not merely a moral truth, but one incorporated in the very language which we employ."[245]

Kaḷippu: *Kaḷittal* (களித்தல்) is obviously derived from *kaḷ* (கள்). A person addicted to drink is called *kaḷi* (களி) in old poetry.[246] The author of Naṉṉul has placed *kaḷi* (களி) first in the list of persons

241. ஒன்று நன்றுள்ளக் கெடும், திருக்குறள், 109. நன்று-நன்மை.

242. திருக்குறள், 102. நன்றி-நன்மை, உபகாரம்.

243. நன்றி மறப்பது நன்றன்று (திருக்குறள், 108); எந்நன்றி கொன்றார்க்கு முய்வுண்டாம் உய்வில்லை செய்ந்நன்றி கொன்ற மகற்கு—திருக்குறள்,110.

244. The Indian ideal of marriage-Tagore.

245. Trench—The Study of words—pp. 93, 94.

246. களித்தறியேன் என்பது கைவிடுக—(யான் கள்ளுண்டறியேன் என்று கூறுதலையொழிக—பரி. உரை)—திருக்குறள், 928. கள்ளுண்ணாப் போழ்திற் களித்தானைக் காணுங்கால்—திருக்குறள், 930.

unqualified to receive instruction.[247] Since the person under the influence of intoxicating liquor makes merry, the words *kaḷippu* (களிப்பு) and *kaḷittal* (களித்தல்) came to signify merriment or happiness. In modern language these terms are used in the sense of happiness or ecstasy without any reference to the state of intoxication.[247a]

VARIATION

Virundu : *Virundu,* (விருந்து) has wandered away from its original moorings. Its primitive sense, according to *Parimēlaḷahar* (பரிமேலழகர்) is newness, and *virundiṉar*(விருந்தினர்), therefore, signified literally new comers or strangers.[248] According to the unwritten moral law which prevailed in the ancient Tamil society, it was the duty and the privilege of the householder to entertain deserving strangers who called at his door for succour or sustenance. "The offering of hospitality," says Tagore, "is incumbent on the house-holder for his own sake. Each of the domestic ceremonies, from the birth celebration to the funeral is but an expression of the debt which each member owes to his community. From this it becomes evident that our society is not like a stream on which its members float in comparative freedom but like the earth in whose depths their root-system is held secure."[249] Thus *virundu* originally signified the hospitality offered to way-farers, mendicants and ascetics. But it connotes in modern usage a sumptuous feast given to friends or relations.[250]

Paradēsi: The charitable disposition of the Tamils is evidenced by the assumption of the name *paradēsi* by the modern beggars. It has always been considered a meritorious act to feed and clothe the poor pilgrims who tour the country from one end to the other offering prayers at the holy shrines and washing the sins of their soul in the

247. நன்னூல், பொதுப்பாயிரம், 39.

247a. மலையாளத்தில் களி என்னும் சொல் விளையாட்டு என்னும் பொருளில் வழங்குகின்றது.

248. விருந்தென்பது புதுமை; அ; தீண்டாரு பெயராய்ப் புதியராய் வந்தார் மேனின்றது (திருக்குறள், 43. பரிமேலழகர் உரை).

249. The Indian ideal of marriage—Tagore.

250. Dr. Pope says that "virundu (விருந்து) has now degenerated into the feeling of promiscuous multitudes in various charitable foundations (Pope's Kural, 211). It is doubtful if virundu is used in this sense in the Tamil country.

sacred waters. Such a person is a *paradēsi*-literally a person of another country or a foreigner. The hospitality which these deserving pilgrims enjoyed at the hands of the charitable house-holder, has induced all beggars including those of our own country, to style themselves paradēsis and exploit the religious sentiment.

Ceydi: *Ceydi* (செய்தி), and *ceyhai* (செய்கை) are derived from the common root *cey* (செய்), and used as synonyms in the old language. A good turn done to a person is denoted by the term *ceydi* (செய்தி) in an ancient poem.[251] However it has now deviated considerably from its original import and is commonly used in the sense of tidings or news. The common query, '*enna ceydi*' (என்ன செய்தி), simply means 'What news?'

Kēḷvi: The verbal noun *kēḷvi* (கேள்வி) is derived from the root *kēḷ* (கேள்)—to hear or listen. Hence the literal sense of *kēḷvi* is listening or hearing.[252] Listening to the words of the learned was a recognised mode of acquiring knowledge in the ancient system of education. Instruction received through the ear was cherished as an invaluable treasure. The most precious of treasures according to Tiru vaḷḷuvar is the treasure of the ear.[253] The verbal noun *kēṭṭal* (கேட்டல்), is derived from the same root and conveys the same sense. 'It is better to listen than to learn' (கற்றலிற் கேட்டலே நன்று)[254] is an aphorism in which *kēṭṭal* is used in the sense of listening. In the modern language, however, words derived from the root *kēḷ* convey the idea of query.[255] Questions set for an examination are commonly known as *kēḷvi*. It is perhaps possible to understand the cause of this transference of sense. The listener of old was not always a passive recipient of instruction. He asked questions with a view to clearing his doubts and difficulties or obtaining further elucidation. There is evidence to show that such questions received the most earnest attention of the ancient preceptors who were anxious to impart exact know

251. செய்தி கொன்றோர்க் குய்தியில்—புறம். 34.

252. கேள்வி—கேட்கப்படுநூற் பொருள்களைக் கற்றறிந்தார் கூறக்கேட்டல், (திருக்குறள், அதி. 42, முகவுரை)

253. செல்வத்துட் செல்வம் செவிச்செல்வம் அச்செல்வம்
செல்வத்து ளெல்லாம் தலை—திருக்குறள், 411.

254. பழமொழி நானூறு, 5.

255. இருப்பதோ, இறப்பதோ ஈதாம்கேள்வி (அமலாதித்யன், அங். 3, கா. 1) is the translation of 'To be or not to be—That is the question'. (Hamlet).

ledge to their pupils. Thus a listener became a questioner and hence *kēḷvi* which literally signified listening came to denote questioning.

Cāraṇar: In the old usage *cāraṇar* (சாரணர்) signifies messengers or spies. In the Jaina and Buddhist literature *cāraṇar* denotes a class of highly evolved souls endowed with supernatural powers.[256] In the modern speech, however, it denotes the scouts. The scout movement is commonly known as *cāraṇar-iyakkam* (சாரணர் இயக்கம்). Perhaps the authority of the person who first employed the old word in the new sense and its adoption by others who for want of a more suitable term gradually acquiesed in it, have secured general recognition and acceptance for this deviation.

Vāsal: The entrance to a house was originally denoted by the compound *il-vāy* (இல்வாய்). *il*-house; *vāy*– entrance or passage. *Il-vāy* (இல்வாய்) became *vāyil* (வாயில்) by the peculiar process of inversion recognised by Tamil literary usage.[257] Thus *vāyil* come to denote entrance or doorway. *Vāyil* has been corrupted into *vāsal* (வாசல்) in the colloquial dialect. (*Vāyil*>*Vāyal*>*Vāsal*). The eastern entrance is denoted by the expression *kuṇa-vāyil* (குணவாயில்). *Kuḍavāyil* (குடவாயில்) corrupted in to *kuḍavāsal* (குடவாசல்) signifies the western entrance. The stepping stone in the door-way is known as *vāsaṟ-pāḍi* (வாசற்படி). If a house consists of several apartments and consequently several doorways, the first doorway is called *talai-vāsal* (தலைவாசல்), the intermediate door way *iḍai-vāsal* (இடைவாசல்) and the postern doorway *puṟa-vāsal* (புறவாசல்). In modern usage, however, the term *vāsal* is used in a slightly varied sense. The courtyard in front of a house is commonly called *vāsal* in the colloquial speech, and the backyard is known as *puṟa-vāsal*. It is worthy of note that in the old usage the courtyard was denoted by the compound word *ilmuṉ* (இல்முன்) which by inversion became *muṉṟil* (முன்றில்).[258] In the modern language it is changed into *muṟṟam* (முற்றம்). *Vāsal* and *muṟṟam* which originally signified two distinct places are now employed as synonyms in several parts of the Tamil country.[259]

Maṇai: The word *maṇai* (மனை) derived from the root *maṇ* (மண்) —earth—takes us back to the primitive times when a low earthern dais

256. சாரணர் வாய்மொழிகேட்டு—சிலப். நாடுகாண். 192.

257. நன்னூல், 267, இலக்கணப்போலி.

258. In muṉṟil, ṟ is said to be intrusive.

259. In Tinnevelly, muṉ-vāsal and puṟa-vāsal are common'y used in the sense of courtyard and backyard respectively.

was improvised by men for sitting on at ease. As civilisation advanced, the wooden dais came into existence. But the old word maṇai was adopted as the name of the wooden seat since the etymological sense of it had been effectively obliterated by time. Then the wooden instrument devised for ginning cotton—an instrument which was fitted with a low wooden seat for the operator, came to be called *maṇai.* The wooden piece on which a cutting instrument is mounted is known as *arivāḷ-maṇai* அரிவாள்மணை) corrupted into *aruvāmaṇi* (அருவாமணை) in the common speech.

Karuppu-k-kaṭṭi : Cane-sugar is signified by the compound *karuppu-k-kaṭṭi* (கருப்புக்கட்டி). *Karuppu-k-kaṭṭi* is composed of *karumbu* (கரும்பு) and *kaṭṭi* (கட்டி)[260] and obviously means cane-sugar. But in the modern colloquial dialect *karuppu-k-kaṭṭi* does not mean cane-sugar but palmyra jaggery. It is possible that the mistaken notion that *karuppu* in the compound *karuppu-k-kaṭṭi* signified the colour of the substance, was responsible for this transference. Now *vellam* (வெல்லம்) is used with reference to cane-sugar and *karuppuk-kaṭṭi* and its corruption *karuppaṭṭi* denote palmyra jaggery.

The conservative instinct of the community is responsible for the existence of several anomalies in the vocabulary of a language. The incompatibility between the words and the objects denoted by them is evidently due to the inability of the words to adjust themselves to the changes effected by the advance of civilization. A lease-deed is still called *aḍai-y-ōlai* (அடையோலை) though the document evidencing the lease is no longer a cadjan leaf.

A grain measure is called *marakkāl* (மரக்கால்) although it has long ceased to be a wooden thing. The circular iron plate on which rice-cake is baked continues to bear the name *tōsai-k-kal* (தோசைக் கல்), cake-stone. The waist-cord though made of gold or silver goes by the humble name *arai-nāṇ* (அரைநாண்), waist-thread.

Variations or displacements of meaning are sometimes effected by a loose application of words. The common people to whom language is merely a practical medium of expression, do not care to acquaint themselves with the accurate significations of words or even if they are aware, do not care to use words in their exact sense. For the sake of

260. கட்டியி னரிசியும் புழுக்கும் காணமும்—சிந்தாமணி, 1938.
கட்டி—கருப்புக்கட்டி, நச்சினார்க்கினியர் உரை.

effect, words of serious import are pressed into service and made to signify trifles. The word *amar-k-kaḷam* (அமர்க்களம்) for instance, is a victim of this popular tendency. It literally denotes the battle field (*amar*-battle; *kaḷam*-field), and raises in the mind of an accurate scholar the image of a blood-stained field covered with mangled limbs of men and beasts and filled with the din of clashing arms and cries of dying soldiers. But in the colloquial dialect the word in employed to signify things that are devoid of these terrific associations. The confusion created by children in the house by throwing things pellmell, the excitement caused at a meeting by interruptions or interrogations and occurences like these, are now denoted by the term.

The expression *mallāḍal* (மல்லாடல்) literally signifies wrestling. *Mallaṉ* (மல்லன்) is a wrestler or pugilist. The dance of the Lord Krishna after killing *Bāṇa* in a wresttle, is denoted by the technical expressicn *mallāḍal.*[261] In popular usage, however, the term is used with reference to the less serious and perhaps less harmfull practice of vandying words. The proverb "கல்லாடம் படித்தவனோடு மல்லாடாதே"[262] is current in cultured society. The idea contained in the saying is that *kallāḍam* is such a classical treatise that one who has closely studied it, will easily carry the palm in any literary controversy.

Maṉṟāḍal (மன்றாடல்) is another term that has undergone a restriction and variation in sense. *Maṉṟu* (மன்று) or *maṉṟam* (மன்றம்) is used in ancient poetry in the sense of Sabha.[263] Cilappadihāram describes the five *maṉṟams* situated at *Puhār*, the principal sea-port of the early chōḻas.[264] In course of time, however, the term was restricted to the court of justice commonly known as *nīdi-maṉṟam* (நீதி மன்றம்). Hence *maṉṟāḍal* came to denote pleading in a court of justice. *Maṉṟāḍi* is used in the Periyapurāṇam in the sense of 'litigant'.[265] In modern usage *maṉṟāḍal* simply means making a fervant and persistent appeal or request, and has no reference to the tribunal of justice.

261. அவுணற் கடந்த மல்லி னாடலும்—சிலப். கடலாடு. 48, 49.

262. தமிழ் இலக்கிய வரலாறு (கா. சுப்பிரமணிய பிள்ளை), 329.

263. மன்றம்—சபை—பிங்கல நிகண்டு ; பாவைமன்றம்—சிலப். இந்திர. 138.

264. ஐவகை மன்றத் தமைதியுங் காண்குதும்—சிலப். கடலாடு. 17. ஐவகை மன்றத்தின் அமைதியை இந்திரவிழவூரெடுத்த காதையிற்காண்க.

265. பழைய மன்றாடி போலும் இவன்—பெரியபுராணம், தடுத்தாட். 48.

A storm in a tea-cup goes by the name of *amaḷi* (அமளி) in the popular parlance. *Amaḷi* is a corruption of *amalai* (அமலை);[266] (*amalai*>*amali*>*amaḷi*). In primitive warfare the soldiers used to gather round the fallen leader of the foemen on the battle-field and sing and dance in jollity. The tipsy dance of the victorious warriors was naturally tumultuous. Hence amaḷi denotes an up-roar or tumult.

The dance known as *kuravai* (குரவை) was a favourite amusement in ancient times.[267] The *kuravai* dance of the Kuṟava and the Shephered girls are vividly described in Cilappadihāram.[268] *Kuravai* as a dance is unknown at present, but the word *kulavai*, a corruption of *kuravai*, exists in the plain vocabulary of the peasantry to remind us of the glories of the past. However, *kulavai* is far too attenuated and altered to be called even the ghost of its former self. The rattling sound *ulūlu* made by women standing together, on auspicious occasions, such as *Poṅgal* and marriage, is now signified by the term *kulavai*.[269]

Naḍam (நடம்) and *naḍai* (நடை) are distinct words drawn from different sources. *Naḍam* signifies dance and *naḍai* denotes walk. The popular confusion between *naḍam*,[270] a corruption of the Sanskrit *naṭa* and *naḍai* derived from the Tamil root *naḍa* has led to the application of the term *naḍamāḍal* (நடமாடல்)[271] to walking, and *naḍamāṭṭam* (நடமாட்டம்) to the state of walking. Thus the sentence *naḍa māḍa muḍiyātu* (நடமாடமுடியாது) does not signify incapacity to dance but inability to walk.

266. தொல். பொருள். 72. உரை.

267. குரவையாவது எழுவரேனும் ஒன்பதின்மரேனும் கைகோத்தாடுங் கூத்து (சிலப். ஆய்ச்சியர்குரவை, அடியார்க்கு நல்லார் உரை).

268. குன்றக்குரவை—சிலப், 24. ஆய்ச்சியர் குரவை—சிலப். 17.

269. குலவை> குரவை. Kulavai—Chorus of shrill sounds made by women by wagging the tongue, uttered on festive occasions—Tamil Lexicon.

270. வானரங்கில் நடம்புரிவாள் இரவி—கம்ப. மிதிலைக்காட்சி. 153.

271. வலம்வந்த மடவார்கள் நடமாட முழவதிர—தேவாரம், திருஞான சம்பந்தர், திருவையாற்றுப் பதிகம்.

SECTION III

Discrimination of Synonyms

Most of the synonyms commonly so called are really expressive of different aspects or qualities of the person or object denoted by them. The terms used with reference to the king, for instance, connote different aspects of royalty. The concption of the ancient Tamils that Royalty was an institution indispensable for the welfare of society is reflected in the word *maṉṉaṉ* (மன்னன்) which signifies the king. *Maṉṉaṉ* is derived from the root *maṉ* (மன்) which denotes stability[272]. Monarchic institution was the supreme symbol of stability and continuity in the estimation of the ancient Tamil community.

The term *kāvalaṉ* (காவலன்) obviously denotes the person who protects his subjects from internal and external enemies. The Protector of Dharma, according to a great religious poet, is styled *kāvalaṉ*.[273]

Vēndaṉ (வேந்தன்) is derived from a root which contains the sense of heat or fire. *Veyil, vēhu* and *vemmai* (வெயில், வேகு, வெம்மை) are derived from the same root. The king has to raise the rod with a severe brow for eradicating evil. It is significant that Tiruvaḷḷuvar employs the term *vēndu* when he refers to the king's duty of ruthlessly suppressing crimes and misdeeds in his country.[274]

Koṟṟavaṉ (கொற்றவன்) is derived from the ultimate root *kol* (கொல்). Military prowess was an essential requisite for the king in

272. மன்னுயிர்ப் பன்மையும் கூற்றத் தொருமையும்—(புறம். 19-3). மன்னுயிர் =நிலைபெற்ற உயிர் (உரை); மன்னுவுலகத்து மன்னுதல் குறித்தோர், புறம். 165, 1.

273. மாநிலங் காவல னவான்....அறங்காப் பானல் லனோ—பெரியபுராணம், மனுநீதிகண்ட, 36.

274. கொலையிற் கொடியாரை வேந்து ஒறுத்தல்—திருக்குறள் 550.

primitive society. The preservation of the autonomy of the state and the perpetuation of royal power and prestige depended to a very large extent on the heroism of the king. The sovereign who was accorded a pre-eminent place in times of peace was expected to lead the army and bear the brunt of battle in times of war.

Similarly, the words which denote wealth appear at firsr sight to be simple synonyms but will be found on closer examination to express different aspects or concepts of wealth. The word *celvam* (செல்வம்), wealth, contains the idea of currency. A token coin or a coin that cannot be put in circulation is known as *cellā-k-kāsu* (செல்லாக்காசு) in popular parlance. The literal sense of the term *celvam* is employed by the Tamil bards to indicate the evanascence of wealth.

The idea that wealth is produced and increased by human endeavour finds expression in the w. rd *paṇam* (பணம்), which is derived from the root *paṇ* (பண்)—to make.[275] Industry is the mother of prosperity (முயற்சி திருவினை ஆக்கும்) says the Tamil poet.[275a] The etymological sense of *paṇam* stresses the view that man is the maker of his own fortune and demolishes the theory that wealth and poverty are regulated by destiny.

The advocates of the doctrine of renunciation deprecated in strong terms the desire for wealth and condemned it as filthy lucre. Wealth was considered to be an obstacle in the way of the soul marching towards its destined goal of salvation. The desire for wealth was the 'snare of Satan' to keep the soul for ever in bondage. The poet has said "Whatsoever thing a man hath renounced, from the grief arising from that, hath he liberated himself." The doctrine which exhorted the mortals to lift their thoughts from the world of ignoble strife to the serene world of eternal bliss, was responsible for wealth being called *veṟukkai* (வெறுக்கை) — the cursed or detested thing.[276]

Māḍu (மாடு) is another term for wealth. "Among pastoral peoples wealth naturally consists in flocks and herds and wealth is counted by so many head of cattle. Thus the cattle became a kind of

275. Cf. Sanskrit, paṇa.

275a திருக்குறள், 616.

276. அந்தோ, சீ, சீ, இப்பொருளைச் செம்மையுடையோர் வேண்டுமெனச் சிந்தித் திடுவரோ மறந்தும்—குசேலோபாக்கியானம்,குசேலர் வைகுந்தம், 106.

legal tender. This happened among the Indo-Europeans, and Indo-European languages have preserved many traces of this primitive state in which, cattle, a man's only wealth were used as money."[277] This, says Vendreys, is an instance of social factors influencing the evolution of vocabulary.

A careful consideration of the synonyms of the verb *col* (சொல்) — speak, will enable us to discover the distinctions existing between them.

Urai (உரை) — comment.

Aṟai (அறை) — assert.

Paṟai (பறை) — proclaim.

Paṉṉu (பன்னு) — repeat.

Kūṟu (கூறு) — speak in a logical or analytical manner.

Kuyiṟṟu (குயிற்று) — speak in a melodious voice.

Viḷambu (விளம்பு) — enlighten.

Iyambu (இயம்பு) — speak in a musical tone.

Cāṟṟu (சாற்று) — Advocate.

Miḻaṟṟu (மிழற்று) — speak in a pleasing manner.

It is probable that the three words *ī*, *tā* and *koḍu* (ஈ, தா, கொடு) were originally synonyms, but usage gradually established a semantic distinction between them. '*Ī*' (ஈ) is used when a person begs for a thing; *tā* (தா) is used when he calls for a thing; and *koḍu* (கொடு) is used when he demands a thing.[278] Thus the distinction is based upon the power and position of the person who addresses the word. The three words are assigned to the three possible positions which a man can occupy in his relations with his fellowmen, viz., inferiority, equality and superiority.

The nouns derived from these verbal roots reflect these shades of thought. *Īhai* (ஈகை) derived from the root *ī* (ஈ) is defined as 'the gift of a thing to the destitute'.[279] *Taruhai* (தருகை) derived from

277. Vendreys, Language, p. 211.

278. ஈயென்கிளவி இழிந்தோன் கூற்றே—தொல். சொல். 445.
தாவென் கிளவி யொப்போன் கூற்றே—தொல். சொல். 446.
கொடுவென் கிளவி யுயர்ந்தோன் கூற்றே—தொல். சொல். 447.

279. வறியார்க் கொன்றீ வதே ஈகை—திருக்குறள், 221.

tā (தா) is used in connection with transactions in which one thing is exchanged for another.[280] The expression *varam-tarudal* (வரம் தருதல்) signifies the boon granted to a person in return for the penance performed by him. *Koḍai* (கொடை) formed from the root *koḍu* (கொடு) signifies a thing given to a person in power or authority. The offering made to the village deities with a view to propitiating them is aptly termed kodai for the deity is deemed to have the power of demanding it.[281]

Anbu (அன்பு) and *aruḷ* (அருள்) denote tenderness. Their exact signification however has been settled by literary usage. The phrase 'அருளென்னும் அன்பீன் குழவி' 'suggested the distiction in a metaphorical way.[282] The classical commentator of the *Kuraḷ* in which the phrase occurs, has explained the distinction between them which was perhaps not so clearly perceived till then. According to him the tenderness which a person feels for his relations is signified by the term *anbu* and the tenderness felt for the animate world beyond the circle of relations is denoted by the term *aruḷ*.[283] Thus *aruḷ* is the quality of mercy which by its gentle touch makes the whole world kin.

The distinction between *vaḻakkam* (வழக்கம்) and *paḻakkam* (பழக்கம்)[284] is identical with the distinction between custom and usage in law. Custom carries with it an idea of great antiquity. In law one of the essentials of a valid custom is that it must uniformly have existed from time immemorial. No such antiquity is necessary to prove a usage. *Paḻakkam* may therefore be defined as a uniform practice among a people or class with respect to certain matters or things.

280. விலைப்பொருட்டால் ஊன்தருவார் இல்—திருக்குறள், 256.
நாலுங்கலந்துனக்கு நான்தருவேன்...நீயெனக்குச் சங்கத்தமிழ் மூன்றும் தா—நல்வழி, காப்பு.

281. It is significant that the offerings made to the ferocious deities alone are known as koḍai. The huge quantity of rice and meat with which they are propitiated is called paḍaippu (படைப்பு).

282. தொடர்பு பற்றுதே வருத்தமுற்றுர் மேற்செல்வதாய அருள், தொடர் பற்றிச்செல்லும் அன்புமுதிர்ந்துழி யுளதாவதாகலின் அதனை அன்பீன் குழவியென்றுர். (திருக்குறள், 757, பரிமேலழகர் உரை.)

283. அருளுடைமை—அஃதாவது தொடர்பு பற்றுது இயல்பாக எல்லாவுயிர் கண் மேலும் செலவதாகிய கருணை. இல்லறத்திற்கு அன்புடைமை போல இது துறவறத்திற்குச் சிறந்தமையின் முற்கூறப்பட்டது. (திருக் குறள், அதி. 25. தோற்றுவாய்).

284. Vaḻakkam and Paḻakkam are also used in the sense of habit and practice respectively.

Ōsai and *oli* (ஓசை, ஒலி) have acquired by usage distinct significations. The existence of this distinction has received sufficient recognition in ancient poetry. When the saint addresses the Lord as (ஓசை ஒலியெல்லாம் ஆனாய் நீயே).[285] It is obvious that he attaches distinct sense-values to these two terms. *Ōsai* conveys the sense of noise and *oli* signifies tone. The distinction between noise and tone may be stated in the words of Max Muller: "Noises such as the rustling of leaves, the jarring of doors or the clap of thunder are produced by irregular impuless imparted to the air. Tones such as we hear from tunin forks, strings, flute, organ pipes are produced by regular periodical vibrations of elastic air."[286] It is possible that *Ōdai* (ஓதை) is a variation of *ōsa i* (ஓசை) as the palatal and dental sounds are interchangeable in Tamil.[287]

The principle of drawing a distinction between synonyms, is adopted in grammatical terminology for the the purpose of denoting differences brought into existence by literary usage, *Viyam* (வியம்) and *ēval* (ஏவல்) are synonyms signifying command.[288] When grammarians were confronted with two forms of command — a command properly so called and a polite command — they distinguished them by the terms *viyaṅgōḷ* (வியங்கோள்) and *ēval* (ஏவல்). Thus, the verb in the imperative mood is called *ēval viṉai* (ஏவல் வினை) and the verb in the optative mood came to be called *viyaṅgōḷ viṉai.*[289]

285. தேவாரம் (திருநாவுக்கரசர்), திருவையாற்றுப்பதிகம், 1.

286. Science of Language, Vol. I, p. 94.

287. āsaṉam (ஆசனம்) > ādaṉam (ஆதனம்).

vayasu (வயசு) > vayadu (வயது).

Duplicated palatals and dalatals :—

vittu (வித்து) > viccu (விச்சு)

nittam (நித்தம்) > niccam (நிச்சம்)

Tittiri (தித்திரி) > ciccili (சிச்சிலி)

It may be that ōdai (ஓதை) is the earlier form and ōsai (ஓசை) its variant.

288. வியம்-ஏவல்; மடியை வியங்கொள்ளின் மற்றைக்கருமம், முடியாதவாறே முயலும் — பழமொழி நானூறு. 167.

289. தொல். சொல். 222 - 226.

Pahudi (பகுதி) and *pādi* (பாதி) were originally synonyms.[290] Pahudi has changed into *padi* by the elimination of the medial vowel—consonant and the augmentation of the quantity of the initial vowel by way of compensation. The root of *pahudi* is *pahu* — to split, separate or divide. Hence *pahudi* denotes a part or portion of the whole. In modern usage however *pādi* connotes an equal division or a moiety.

Sandi (சந்தி) and *andi* (அந்தி) were originally identical in sense. It is probable that *andi* is a variation of *sandi*, brought about by the elimination of the initial sibilant. A distinction between these synonyms was established in due course. *Andi* was confined to contact of time and *sandi* was generally appropriated to contact of place. The time whice marks the contact of day and night is known as *andi* — the twilight.[291] *Sandi* refers ordinarily to a place where different paths meet.[292]

Eyiṟu (எயிறு) in the sense of tooth is now confined to poetry and literary prose. *Īṟu* (ஈறு) which is probably a corruption of *eyiṟu* (எயிறு) is commonly used to denote the gums of the teeth.

Distinction between synonyms is sometimes brought about by the elevation or degradation of one of them. The terms *paḍuttal* (படுத்தல்) and *kiḍattal* (கிடத்தல்) were originally synonyms but a distinction has been established owing to the gradual deterioration of the later. *Paḍukkai* (படுக்கை) and *kiḍakkai* (கிடக்கை) formed from the roots, *paḍu* (படு) and *kiḍa* (கிட) denote the act of resting or sleeping. However, the word *kiḍattal* (கிடத்தல்) is now relegated to the vocabulary of the vulgar dialect. *Kiḍai* (கிடை) derived from the root *kiḍa* clearly indieates the degree of its degradation. Although it retains its primary sense in poetry; common usage has confined it to the sheep-fold, *āṭṭu-k-kiḍai* (ஆட்டுக்கிடை).

The sense of eating is denoted by the terms, *uṇ* (உண்) and *tiṉ* (தின்). The nouns formed from these verbal roots are *ūṇ* (ஊண்) and *tīṉi* (தீனி), *uṇavu* (உணவு), *ūṇ* (ஊண்) and *uṇḍi* (உண்டி) are synonyms.

290. பகுத்துண்டு பல்லுயிர் ஓம்புதல் — திருக்குறள், 322.
பாத்தூண் மரீஇயவனை—திருக்குறள், 227.

291. அந்திக்கடை — Evening bazaar.

292. சதுக்கமுஞ் சந்தியும் புதுப்பூங்கடம்பும்—திருமுரு. 225.

While these words retain their original meaning *tiṉi* is now used mainly with reference to the food of animals.

The Tamil word *avā* (அவா) and the Sanskrit derivative *āsai* (ஆசை) were used originally as synonyms. Annihilation of desire is denoted by the expression *avā-v-aṟuttal* (அவாவறுத்தல்) in Tirukkuṟaḷ.[293] In the exhortation *āsai-aṟumiṉ* (ஆசை அறுமின்)[294] *āsai* is used in the same sense. Sita refers to her husband as *āsaiyiṉ-kaṉi*, (ஆசையின் கனி) — the delicious fruit of her desire.[295] But in modern usage *āsai* has acquired the meaning of improper or unwholesome desire. The distinction between the two words is clearly indicated in the compounds *pērāsai* (பேராசை) and *pēravā* (பேரவா). Avarice is denoted by the former and intense desire by the latter. It is significant that *āval* (ஆவல்) which is a contraction of *avāval* (அவாவல்)[296] continues to bear the original sense of desire or eagerness. The connections in which *āsai* is used in modern parlence, clearly mark the extent of its degeneratation. e.g., *āsai-k-kiḻatti* (ஆசைக் கிழத்தி) — concubine *Āsai-nāyahaṉ* (ஆசை நாயகன்) — illicit lover ; *Āsai marundu* (ஆசை மருந்து) — Love potion or philter and so forth.

When words bearing the same sense are drawn from different languages and are current side by side, a distinction is gradually established between them. The Tamil word *eṇṇei* (எண்ணெய்) and the Sanskrit derivative *tailam* (தைலம்) are synonyms. The Sanskrit word for sesame (எள்) is *tīla* and hence the oil extracted from *tīla* is known as *taila*. But is hardly *tailam* used to denote the gingili oil in the modern speech. Scented and medicinal oils are generally signified by it.

The sanskrit term *Sthala* corrupted into *talam* (தலம்) is the equivalent of *iḍam* (இடம்) in Tamil. A distinction has gradually come into existence by which the Sanskrit derivative is confined to sacred and holy places while its Tamil equivalent continues to convey the original sense of place.

293. திருக்குறள், அதி. 37.

294. ஆசையறுமின்கள் ஆசையறுமின்கள்
ஈசனோடாயினும் ஆசையறுமின்கள்—திருமந்திரம். 2615.

295. கம்ப. மாயாசனக. 212.

296. In avāval — the elimination of the first vā is due to haplology; the increase in the quantity of the intial vowel is due to compensation.

The Tamil word *Aṟivu* (அறிவு) and the Samskrit derivative *gnāṉam* (ஞானம்) are synonyms. *Aṟivan* (அறிவன்) is used in poetry in the sense of sage; *Aṟivunūl* (அறிவு நூல்) is book of knowledge. *Gnāṉam* (ஞானம்) also means knowledge; *Gnānēn-driyam* (ஞானேந் திரியம்) is the collective name for the sense organs. Usage however has restricted aṟivu *to* knowledge and *gnāṉam to* wisdom. Thus *aṟiñaṉ* (அறிஞன்) denotes a man of knowledge and *gnāṉi* (ஞானி) signifies a sage or wise man.

The Sanskrit derivative *vittai* (வித்தை) and the Tamil word *kalvi* (கல்வி) are synonyms. *Vidyāsālai* (வித்தியாசாலை) derived from the root of the word *vittai* and *kallūri* (கல்லூரி) derived from the root of the word *kalvi* denote the school. Similarly *vittahaṉ* (வித்தகன்) and *kaṟṟavan* (கற்றவன்) signify the learned person. Popular usage however has restricted the term *vittai* to an art or craft involving subtlety or dexterity. The magician is commonly called *vittai-k-kāraṉ* (வித்தைக்காரன்).

Borrowed words are sometimes altered in accordance with the phonetic laws and tendencies of the language in which they are adopted and made the vehicles of different thoughts. The Sanskrit word *Bāṇa* is current in Tamil in a double form viz., *pāṇam* and *vāṇam.* The labial and the labio-dental are interchangeable in Tamil and hence *pāṇam* and *vāṇam* are different from of the same word. The difference in form has led to a difference in sense. In modern usage pāṇam retains the sense of arrow but *vāṇam* is used with reference to the rocket. A display of fire works in commonly know as *vāṇa vēḍikkai* (வாண வேடிக்கை).

The Sanskrit term *jala* is employed in two forms in Tamil. *Jalam* (ஜலம்)—the tatsama for—signifies water. But *calam* (சலம்)—the tatbhava form in which the palatal surd has taken the place of the palatal sonant—is used with reference to the pus issuing from festered wounds.[297]

The words formed by attaching different particles serving the same grammatical purpose, to a common root are made the vehicles of allied but distinct thoughts. For instance from the verbal root *vēḷ* (வேள்) the nouns *vēḷvi* (வேள்வி) *vēṭkai* (வேட்கை) and *vēṭṭai* (வேட்டை) are derived. It is evident that these words have been

297. Tamil Lexicon.

formed by attaching different suffixes of the verbal noun to the common root. Though the three words contain the sense of desire, each of them is confined to a particular kind of desire. *Vēḷvi* denotes a sacrifice performed with religious zeal. *Vēṭkai* cannotes sexual desire. *Vēṭṭai* signifies hunting. *Vēṭṭuvaṉ* (வேட்டுவன்) or *vēḍaṉ* (வேடன்) is the name of the hillman whose main occupation is hunting.

The terms *yākkai* (யாக்கை) and *yāppu* (யாப்பு) are derived from the root *yā* (யா), to bind together. *Yākkai* signifies the body and *yāppu* means verse in literary language. The body has been conceived as a house built of bones and flesh, bound together by nerves and covered with skin.[298] This concept forms the basis of the term *yākkai*. In the composition of verse also a similar process is adopted. Syllables and words are arranged in a particular order, strunk together by rhyme and alliteration and made the vehicle of thought.[299] Hence metrical composition is signified by the term *yāppu*.

The words *curuḷ* (சுருள்) and *curuṭṭu* (சுருட்டு) are derived obviously from a common root containing the idea of a roll but denote different objects by a variation of termination.[300] A roll of palm leaves is called *ōlai-c-curaḷ* (ஓலைச்சுருள்) : a roll of betal leaves is known as *veṟṟilai-c-curaḷ* (வெற்றிலைச் சுருள்) and so forth. Gold or silver coins rolled in a piece of yellow cloth and presented to the newly married couple on auspicious occasions is known as *Curuḷ* in the Southern districts.[301] *Curuṭṭu* however is definitely restricted to cigar.[302] "It has passed into the English vocabulary in the form cheroot but appropriated specially to cigars truncated at both ends."[303]

The difference between *uruvu* (உருவு) and *urupu* (உருபு) was originally one of form and not of substance. *Uruvu* means form or

298. *நரம்பினோ டெலும்பு கட்டி நசையினோ டிசைவொன் றில்லாக்—குரம்பை வாய்க் குடியிருந்து குலத்தினால் வாழமாட்டேன். — தேவாரம் (சுந்தரர்) திருவாரூர்ப்பதிகம். 5. (பெரிய திருமொழி. 59ம் பாட்டையும் பார்க்க)*

299. Yāppu Ilakkaṇam is prosody.

300. Cf. இருள் — இருட்டு (iruḷ-iruṭṭu) — darkness.

301. curuḷ — Presents with betel given to bride and bridegroom. Loc. — Tamil Lexicon.

302. Curuṭṭu (Tamil), curuṭṭu (Malayālam), tcutta (Telugu), cutti (Kanarese). In Telugu and Kanarese the radical letter of the root is eliminated.

303. Hobson — Jobson.

symbol.[304] But *urupu* is appropriated to the post-positional particles expressive of case relations in grammatical terminology.[305] The case sign is called *vēṟṟumai urupu.*

Variations in form caused by the operation of phonotic laws such as metathesis, prothesis and euphonic nunnation have brought about variations in sense.

(1) Metathesis :—

Visiṟi (விசிறி) = fan.

Siviṟi (சிவிறி) = Syringe.

Koppuḷ-am (கொப்புளம்) = bubble.

Pokkuḷ-am (பொக்குளம்) = boil.[306]

Mukil (முகிழ்) = bud.

Kumil (குமிழ்) = bubble; knob.

(2) Prothesis with or without consonantal changes :—

Rājā (Skt) > *Rāsan* > *arasan* = King.

Rājā (Skt) > *Rāyan* > *irāyan* = Title of certain castes like Mādhva Brahmins.

Rakta (Skt) > *Rattam* > *irattam* = blood.

Rakta (Skt) > *Rattam* > *arattam* = a garment.

(3) Euphonic nasalisation :—

Kūḍu (கூடு) = nest.

Kūṇḍu (கூண்டு) = covering.[307]

304. உருவுகண் டெள்ளாமை வேண்டும் — திருக்குறள், 667.

305. The case—sign is called vēṟṟumai urupu in grammar.

306. Tamil Lexicon.

307. A carriage with a covering overhead is called kūṇḍu vaṇḍi and a carriage without a top is commonly known as moṭṭai vaṇḍi.

Aḍu (அடு) = approach.

Aṇḍu (அண்டு) = attach.[308]

Taḍu (தடு) = obstruct.

Taṇḍu (தண்டு) = collect rents, taxes, etc.[309]

Dimorphism due to different degrees of corruption, has served the cause of semantic ditinction :—

Praṣṭhapadā (Skt) — *Puraṭṭāsi* (Ta) = The Sixth Tamil month.

Proṣṭhapadā (Skt) — *Pūraṭṭādi* (Ta) = The twenty-fifth *nakṣatra.*

Śrāvaṇa (Skt) — *Sirāvaṇam* (Ta) = a religious ceremony.

Śrāvaṇa (Skt) — *Avaṇi* (Ta) = The fifth Tamil month.

Lakṣaṇa (Skt) — *Ilaṭcaṇam* (Ta) = beauty.

Lakṣaṇa (Skt) — *Ilakkaṇam* (Ta) = grammer.

Distinction in form between Sanskritic and Prākritic terms employed in Tamil has contributed to semantic discrimination :—

Sūnya (Skt)—*Sūṉiyam* (Ta) = Witchcraft.

Sunna (Pkt) — *Suṉṉam* (Ta) = Cipher.

Varṇa (Skt) — *varuṇam* (Ta) = colour.

Vaṇṇa (Pkt) — *vaṇṇam* (Ta) = beauty.

Ārya (Skt) — *Āriyan* (Ta) = a man of the Aryan race.

Ajja (Pkt) — *Accan* (Ta) = father.

Semantic wear and tear is responsible for the existence of several Pleonasms in the colloquial dialect of Tamil. For instance :

Cahaḍa-vaṇḍi (சகட வண்டி), cor, *cakkḍā-vaṇḍi* (சக்கடா வண்டி) — country cart.

308. Usage has established a distinction between aḍu and aṇḍu. Aḍutta vīḍu is next house; Aṇḍai vīdu is adjoining house.

309. Tamil Lexicon. It is possible that taṇḍai (anklet) is the nasalised form of taḍai (obstruction).

Ūdai-vāḍai (ஊதை வாடை), cor, *ūḷaivāḍai* (ஊளை வாடை) — chill wind.

Kaḍuvaṉ-pūṉai (கடுவன் பூனை), cor, *Kaḍuvām-pūṉai* (கடுவாம் பூனை) — Big cat.

Arai-nāṇ-kayiṟu (அரை நாண்கயிறு), cor, *Arunākayaṟu* (அருநாக் கயறு) — waist cord.

Cūṟā-vaḷi-k-kāṟṟu (சூறுவளிக் காற்று), cor, *Cūṟā-vaḷi-k-kāttu* (சூறுவளிக் காத்து) — whirl-wind.

In each of these compounds, the classical word which has lost its semantic value is followed and supported by its popular equivalent.

Works referred to in this book

61. Indian ideal of marriage (Tagore), 58, 59
62. Introduction to modern Linguistics (Palmer), 29
63. Key of Knowledge, 26
64. Language (Vendryes), 10, 28, 67
65. Malayalam Dictionary (Gundert), 14, 15, 23
66. Mankind, Nation and Individual (Jesperson), 31
67. Marco Polo's Travels, 38
68. Meaning and Change of meaning (G. Stern), 36
69. Outlines of the History of the English Language (E. Classen), Foreword, ii.
70. Persia, (Malcolm), (Vol. II), 22
71. Personal ornaments of the Madrasi, M. C. C. M., Sept., (1913), 16, 17, 18
72. Principles of Human Physiology (Starling), 12
73. Semantics (Breal), 9
74. Science of Language, 69
75. Stone age in India (P. T. Srinivasa Iyyangar), 19
76. Study of words (Trench), 4, 54, 58
77. Tamils eighteen hundred years ago, 41
78. Tamil Lexicon, Vol. I to VI and supplement, 5, 6, 8, 11, 12, 13, 16, 29, 35, 37, 38, 53, 54, 56, 64, 72, 73, 74, 75

Index

Compiled by

V. JAYADEVAN

D

N

O

P

PART - II

TAMIL LITERARY AND COLLOQUIAL

Tamil - Literary and Colloquial

Introduction

The earliest Tamil literature discloses a high degree of intellectual development which could not have been attained without centuries of cultural endeavour. The Tamil language received in an unstinted measure the support of the ancient royalty and the aristocracy of South India. A considerable number of crowned kings and princes of the royal family were themselves poets and men of letters of no mean order and the poems composed by them afford ample evidence of their enthusiasm and erudition.[1] The Pandya kings in particular have earned the eternal gratitude of the Tamil nation by the foundation of a Tamil Academy (*Saṅgam*) in their capital city which attracted eminent poets and scholars from all parts of the Tamil country.[2] Although the *Saṅgam* does not appear to have been expressly charged with the duty of prescribing the canons of correct usage, the standard of literary propriety set by the galaxy of scholars who constituted the Academy naturally commanded the respectful attention of the country. The high esteem in which the Academy was held in those days is reflected in the eagerness with which its approbation was sought by poets and scholars for their literary productions. The immortal legends associated with *Nakkīrar* and *Cīttalai-c-Cāttaṉār* bear testimony to the anxious care with which the Academy scrutinised the treatises submitted for favour of its opinion or approval.[3] A treatise commended by them was well received by the country and a work condemned by them was consigned to oblivion. The language which commanded the acceptance of the Academy came in due course to be regarded as "the standard language" (*Centamiḻ*). It is probable that this language was mainly based on the dialect of Tamil that was then prevalent in the Pandya

1. The kings and princes whose poems are included in Puṟanāṉūṟu are referred to in the notes entitled '*Pāḍiṉōr varalāṟu*' in Puṟanāṉūṟu published by Dr. V. Swaminatha Iyer.

2. Iṟaiyaṉāragapporuḷurai, p. 4.
   See also 'Saṅga-t-tamiḻum piṟkāla-t-tamiḻum' pp. 5-21.

3. Tiruviḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam, Paḍalam, 52, Tiruvaḷḷuvamālai, 11.

country. A distinction came to be drawn in course of time between the terriotory where the standard language prevailed (*Centamil̲ Nāḍu*) and the country where the dialects were spoken (*Koḍuntamil̲ Nāḍu*).[4] Despite differences of opinion among the commentators regarding the territorial limits of the *Centamil̲* country, authoritative opinion has declared in unambiguous terms that the Pandya country was regarded as the *Centamil̲ Nāḍu.*[5] The celebrated poetess *Avvaiyār* who had gained an intimate personal knowledge of the Tamil country through her constant peregrenations has expressed her considered opinion that '*pure Tamil*' was the special possession of the Pandya country.[6]

Natural barriers promoted the growth of dialects in South India. It is significant that most of the twelve countries compendiously described as *Koduntamil̲ Nāḍu* are separated from the Pandya country by sections of the eastern and western ghats.[7] The expansion and growth of the standard language inevitably diminished the importance of the dialects and eventually reduced them to a position of insignificance.

Dialectal words, however, have found their way into the vocabulary of the standard language either by virtue of their intrinsic worth or by the authority of the poets who pressed them into service. It would be almost impossible at this distance of time to discover these words in the ancient poems, had not the classical commentators called our attention to them. Even the great epics *Cilappatikāram* and *Cintāmaṇi* contain several dialectal terms. According to *Aḍiyārkkunallār*, the commentator of *Cilappatikāram*, *ciṟumi* (a young girl) is a dialect of *Kuḍanāḍu*, *pudai* (in the sense of cover) is a dialect of *Malaināḍu*, and so forth.[8] *Naccinārkkiniyar* in his commentary on *Cintāmaṇi* has disclosed the dialectal character of the second personal pronoun *nīm*, of

4. Tolkāppiyam Col. 400, com.; Nan̲n̲ūl, 273, Com.; Peruntokai, 2107.
5. Nan̲n̲ūl, 271, sankaranamaccivāyar com.
6. Peruntokai, 2099.
7. Tamils eighteen hundred years ago, p. 15.
8. சிறுமியர் — சிறுபெண்கள் : குட நாட்டு வழக்கு
புதைத்தல் — போர்த்தல் : மலைநாட்டு வழக்கு
தெழித்தல் — பிரித்தல் ; குட நாட்டு வழக்கு
பனித்து — பனிகொண்டு ; பனியென்பதொரு நோயுமுண்டு : குட நாட்டு வழக்கு
பணித்தல் — அருளிச் செய்தல் : திசைச் சொல்
(சிலப்பதிகாரம், அடியார்க்கு நல்லாருரை).

the pronominal genitive *nuṉ*, the interjection *idā*, and so on.[9] Thus the accession of dialectal terms has enriched the vocabulary of the standard language.

It is incorrect to suppose that the standard language was lacking in elasticity and adaptability. Words from cognate and foreign languages have secured admission into the vocabulary of the standard language subject to the condition of their conforming to the phonetic system of the language. The unwanted sounds in the loan-words were eliminated; concurrent consonants were separated by anaptyctic vowels and prothetic vowels were affixed to the initial consonants to facilitate enunciation. The substitution of alien sounds in loan-words by Tamil sounds was based on the laws governing the production of the sounds concerned in the respective languages. In fact, loan-words were so thoroughly tamilised that they were not in frequently mistaken for indigenous words. The great commentator *Naccinārkkiṉiyar* maintained that the word *ulaku* was an indigenous word.[10] There are scores of words drawn from foreign languages, which have been so thoroughly assimilated that they are tacitly assumed to be Tamil words For instance, *ulku* is used in *Tirukkuṟaḷ* in the sense of customs duties.[11] The Sanskrit *sulka* is current in a double form in Tamil. *Suṅgam* is the popular and nasalised form and *ulku* is the classical and uneuphonised form. The aversion of classical Tamil to the initial sibilant was perhaps responsible for its elimination and the change of the final '*a*' into '*u*' has completed the process of corruption. It may be difficult for one not acquainted with the phonetic laws and tendencies of the Dravidian languages to trace the Tamil *naṅguram* (anchor) to the Persian *langar*, the Tamil *ēlam* (auction) to the Portuguese *leilão*; the Tamil *cākku* (gunny bag) to the Dutch *zak*; the Tamil *urumāl* (upper cloth) to the Urdu *rūmāl*; the Tamil *cīkku* (disease) to the English *sick*, etc. Thus the standard language sought to preserve its individuality while allowing the fullest scope for the accession of alien words to enrich its vocabulary.

9. நீம் — ஓர் திசைச் சொல்லுமாம் —சிந்தாமணி, 1932, உரை.
நுன் — திசைச் சொல். 324, உரை.
இதா — திசைச் சொல், 1232, உரை.
குளிர்தல் = தங்குதல் —திசைச் சொல், 1973, உரை.
ஒள்ளியன் = நல்லன் —திசைச் சொல், 741, உரை.
கரைதல் = கொண்டுபோதல் —திசைச்சொல், 63, உரை.
பாடி — மலை நாட்டார் வழக்கு, 927, உரை.

10. தொல். சொல். 58, நச்சினார்க்கினியர் உரை.

11. 'உறுபொருளும் உல்கு பொருளும்' —திருக்குறள், 756.

The insistence on a strict adherence to the laws relating to literary usage naturally widened the gulf between literary Tamil and colloquial Tamil. The differences between the two may be considered under the heads phonetic, grammatical and lexical.

I. *Phonetic*

Vowels

(*a*)

(1) '*a*' of the initial syllable of indigenous words changes into '*i*' if followed by '*ā*'.[12]

கடா *kaḍā* > *kiḍā* கிடா
கனா *kaṉā* > *kiṉā* கினா
பலா *palā* > *pilā* பிலா
வரால் *varāl* > *virāl* விரால்
வளார் *vaḷār* > *viḷār* விளார்

(2) '*a*' of the initial syllable especially of loan-words generally changes into '*e*'.[13]

gati (Skt.) கதி *kadi* > *kedi* கெதி
gaṅgā (Skt.) கங்கை *kaṅgai* > *keṅgai* கெங்கை
daṇḍa (Skt.) தண்டம் *taṇḍam* > *teṇḍam* தெண்டம்
bala (Skt.) பலம் *palam* > *pelam* பெலம்
jagat (Skt.) *jaga* (Pkt.) சகம் *cakam* > *cekam* செகம்
bandhaka (Skt.) பந்தகம் *pandakam* > *pendakam* பெந்தகம்

(3) Medial '*a*' changes into '*i*' if the succeeding syllable contains '*i*'.

பதநீர் *padanīr* > *padinīr* > *padini* பதிநி
பூசணி *pūcaṇi* > *puciṇi* பூசிணி

12. This change is found also in certain loan-words.
(Urdu) *tarāzu* தராசு > *tirāsu* திராசு
(Skt.) *karāḷi* கராளி > *kirāḷi* கிராளி
(Skt.) *paṭākā* > *paṭākai* படாகை > *Piṭākai* பிடாகை

13. In indigenous words also this change is rarely found.
கட்டு *kaṭṭu* > *keṭṭu* கெட்டு
சற்றே *caṟṟē* > *cattē* > *cettē* செத்தே
மன்னை *maṉṉai* > *meṉṉai* மென்னை

கத்தரி *kattari* > *kattiri* கத்திரி
அழுகணி *aḻukaṇi* > *aḻukiṇi* அழுகிணி
தேவடியாள் *tēvaḍiyāḷ* > *tēviḍiyāḷ* தேவிடியாள்

(4) Medial '*a*' sometimes changes into '*u*', if the succeeding syllable contains '*u*'.

பறம்பு *paṟambu* > *paṟumbu* பறும்பு
நலங்கு *nalaṅgu* > *naluṅgu* நலுங்கு
அலங்கு *alaṅgu* > *aluṅgu* அலுங்கு
உலங்கு *ulaṅgu* > *olaṅgu* > *oluṅgu* ஒலுங்கு

(*ā*)

(5) '*ā*' in mono-syllabic words takes the enunciative vowel '*u*'.

கா *kā* > *kāvu* காவு
மா *mā* > *māvu* மாவு
பா *pā* > *pāvu* பாவு
நா *nā* > *nāvu* நாவு
('*v*' is a glide in these instances).

(6) Final '*ā*' in dis-syllabic words is shortened when it takes the enunciative vowel '*u*'.

பலா *palā* > *palavu* பலவு
நிலா *nilā* > *nilavu* நிலவு
புறா *puṟā* > *puṟavu* புறவு
கனா *kaṉā* > *kaṉavu* கனவு
('*v*' is a glide in these instances).

(*i*)

(7) Initial '*i*' generally changes into '*e*', if it is not the demonstrative base and if it is followed by any vowel except '*i*' or '*u*'.[14]

இலை *ilai* > *elai* எலை
இடம் *iḍam* > *eḍam* எடம்

14. In '*ivaṉ*', '*itu*' etc., where '*i*' is the demonstrative base initial '*i*' is retained. So also in '*illai*', '*iccai*', *immi*, '*iṟṟu*', etc., where it is followed by a consonant. In '*iruṭṭu*', '*iḍuppu*' '*iḻuppu*', etc., initial '*i*' is retained because the following vowel is '*u*'. So also in '*iḍippu*', '*iṉippu*', '*iḷippu*', '*iḻivu*', etc., where '*i*' is followed by '*i*', the initial '*i*' is retained.

இழவு *iḻavu* > *eḻavu* எழவு
இரவல் *iraval* > *eraval* எரவல்
இனம் *iṉam* > *eṉam* எனம்
இளநீர் *iḷanīr* > *eḷanīr* எளநீர்

(8) '*i*' of the initial syllable, generally changes into '*e*' if it is followed by any vowel except '*i*' or '*u*'.

கிடை *kiḍai* > *keḍai* கெடை
சிறை *ciṟai* > *ceṟai* செறை
சிரங்கு *ciraṅgu* > *ceraṅgu* செரங்கு
கிழங்கு *kiḻaṅgu* > *keḻaṅgu* கெழங்கு
திரளை *tiraḷai* > *teraḷai* தெரளை
திரை *tirai* > *terai* தெரை
பிரம்பு *pirambu* > *perambu* பெரம்பு
பிறை *piṟai* > *peṟai* பெறை
மிரட்டு *miraṭṭu* > *meraṭṭu* மெரட்டு
விதை *vidai* > *vedai* வெதை
விரல் *viral* > *veral* வெரல்

(9) Initial '*i*' combined with a labial consonant sometimes changes into '*u*' if followed by '*i*' or '*u*' or a cerebral consonant.[15]

பிடி *piḍi* > *puḍi* புடி
பிடுங்கு *piḍuṅgu* > *puḍuṅgu* புடுங்கு
பிழி *piḻi* > *puḻi* புழி
பிட்டு *piṭṭu* > *puṭṭu* புட்டு
பிண்ணாக்கு *piṇṇākku* > *puṇṇākku* புண்ணாக்கு
பிள்ளை *piḷḷai* > *puḷḷai* புள்ளை
மிட்டாய் *miṭṭāy* > *muṭṭāy* முட்டாய்
மிண்டன் *miṇḍaṉ* > *muṇḍaṉ* முண்டன்

(10) Initial '*i*' combined with a labial consonant sometimes changes into '*o*' if followed by '*a*' or '*ai*'.

பிடரி *piḍari* > *poḍati* பொடதி
பிழைப்பு *piḻaippu* > *poḻaippu* பொழைப்பு

15. Initial *ī* changes into *ū*.
பீழை *pīḻai* > *pūḻai* பூழை
பீடம் *pīḍam* > *pūḍam* பூடம்

பிளவை *piḷavai* > *poḷavai* பொளவை
பிணம் *piṇam* > *poṇam* பொணம்
பிணை *piṇai* > *poṇai* பொணை
மிளகு *miḷaku* > *moḷaku* மொளகு
மிதந்து *mitandu* > *motandu* மொதந்து

(11) Medial '*i*' generally changes into '*a*' or '*u*'.[16]

கயிறு *kayiṟu* > *kayaṟu* கயறு
குடிக்கூலி *kuḍikkūli* > *kuḍakkūli* குடக்கூலி
பணிவிடை *paṇiviḍai* > *paṇivaḍai* பணிவடை
கட்டிடம் *kaṭṭiḍam* > *kaṭṭaḍam* கட்டடம்
வாயில் *vāyıl* > *vāyal* > *vācal* வாசல்
வேனில் *vēṉil* > *vēṉal* வேனல்
தவில் *tavil* > *taval* தவல்
அறிவாள் *aṟivāḷ* > *aruvāḷ* அருவாள்
உரிமை *urimai* > *urumai* உருமை
அடிமை *aḍimai* > *aḍumai* அடுமை
கும்பிடு *kumbiḍu* > *kumbuḍu** கும்புடு
முசிறு *muciṟu* > *mucuṟu** முசுறு
முடிச்சு *muḍiccu* > *muḍuccu** முடுச்சு
தெளிவு *teḷivu* > *teḷuvu* > *teḷu* தெளு
அரிசி *arici* > *aruci* அருசி
திரிகை *tirikai* > *tiruvai* திருவை

(12) Medial '*i*' changes into '*u*' if the succeeding syllable contains '*u*'.

தவிடு *taviḍu* > *tavuḍu* தவுடு
செவிடு *ceviḍu* > *cevuḍu* செவுடு
கலிங்கு *kaliṅgu* > *kaluṅgu* கலுங்கு

16. கரிநாள் *karināḷ* > *karunāḷ* கருநாள்
குடித்தனம் *kuḍittaṉam* > *kuḍuttaṉam* குடுத்தனம்
கடிவாளம் *kaḍivāḷam* > *kaḍuvāḷam* கடுவாளம்
பொரிவிளங்காய் *porivilaṅgāi* > *poruviḷaṅgāi* பொருவிளங்காய்
Final 'i' sometimes changes into 'u'.
மடி *maḍi* > *maḍu* (teat) மடு

* In these intances the change of medial '*i*' into '*u*' might be due to the influence of '*u*' in the succeeding syllable.

பெரிது *peridu* > *pericu* > *perucu* பெருசு
புதிது *pudidu* > *pudicu* > *puducu* புதுசு

(*u*)

(13) Initial '*u*' generally changes into '*o*' if it is not the demonstrative base and if it is followed by any vowel except '*i*' or '*u*'.

உடல் *uḍal* > *oḍal* ஒடல்
உதை *udai* > *odai* ஒதை
உளவு *uḷavu* > *oḷavu* ஒளவு
உறை *uṟai* > *oṟai* ஒறை
உலை *ulai* > *olai* ஒலை

(14) '*u*' of the first syllable generally changes into '*o*' if it is followed by any vowel except '*i*' or 'u'.

குடை *kuḍai* > *koḍai* கொடை
குரங்கு *kuraṅgu* > *koraṅgu* கொரங்கு
சுரண்டு *curaṇḍu* > *coraṇḍu* சொரண்டு
துவரை *tuvarai* > *tovarai* தொவரை
புதையல் *pudaiyal* > *podaiyal* பொதையல்
புகை *pukai* > *pokai* பொகை
முழம் *muḻam* > *moḻam* மொழம்
நுரை *nurai* > *norai* நொரை

(15) The initial vowel of the inflectional base of the first and second singular personal pronouns is displaced when the dative case-sign is attached to it.

எனக்கு *eṉakku* > *ṉēkku* னேக்கு
உனக்கு *uṉakku* > *oṉakku* > *ṉōkku* ஞேக்கு

The euphonic displacement and amalgamation of vowels in these instances is perhaps due to the influence of Telugu.[17] Dr. Caldwell says "this displacement occurs (in Telugu) most commonly in words which consist of three short syllables beginning with a vowel; and

17. (Tamil) உரல் *ural* > *oral* > *oralu* > *rōlu* (Telugu)
(Tamil) உகிர் *ugir* > *ugiru* > *ogiru* > *gōru* (Telugu)
(Tamil) இலது *iladu* > *eladu* > *lēdu* (Telugu)

when it occurs we find that the second vowel has disappeared and that the first vowel has migrated from the beginning of the word to the second syllable and at the same time lengthened to compensate for the vowel that is lost."

(16) Initial '*u*' combined with labial consonant sometimes changes into '*i*'.[18]

புலி *puli* > *pili* பிலி
புரி *puri* > *piri* பிரி
புல்(லு) *pul(lu)* > *pil(lu)* பில்(லு)
புன்னை *puṉṉai* > *piṉṉai* பின்னை
முந்திரி *mundiri* > *mindiri* மிந்திரி

(17) Medial '*u*' changes into '*a*'[19] or '*i*'.

ஊருணி *ūruṇi* > *ūraṇi* ஊரணி
கழுநீர் *kaḻunīr* > *kaḻanīr* > *kaḻani* கழனி
பொறுக்கு *poṟukku* > *poṟakku* பொறக்கு
அறுப்பு *aṟuppu* > *aṟappu* அறப்பு
நெருஞ்சி *neruñji* > *neriñji* நெரிஞ்சி
தவசுப்பிள்ளை *tavacu-p-piḷḷai* > *tavaci-p-piḷḷai* தவசிப்பிள்ளை
அருநெல்லி *arunelli* > *arinelli* அரிநெல்லி
வெட்டுவேர் *veṭṭuvēr* > *veṭṭivēr* வெட்டிவேர்

(18) Final '*u*' changes into '*i*'.

மஞ்சு *mañju* > *mañji* மஞ்சி

18. Initial *u* sometimes changes into *e*.

சுவர் *cuvar* > *cevar* செவர்
புரளி *puraḷi* > *peraḷi* பெரளி

19. This occurs in a large number of words.

இன்னும் *iṉṉum* > *iṉṉam* இன்னம்
அறுதாலி *aṟutāli* > *aṟatali* அறதலி
துப்புரவு *tuppuravu* > *tupparavu* துப்பரவு
சம்புடம் *camdudam* > *cambadam*
(Eng.) *pound* > *pavaṉ* பவன்

ū > *a*

பூணூல் *pūṇūl* > *pūṇal* பூணல்
முக்கூட்டு *mukkūṭṭu* > *mukkaṭṭu* முக்கட்டு
முக்கூடல் *mukkūḍal* > *mukkaḍal* முக்கடல்

பஞ்சு *pañju* > *pañji* பஞ்சி
கழஞ்சு *kaḻañju* > *kaḻañji* கழஞ்சி
bank (Eng.) > *vaṅgi* வங்கி (In the speech of the *Nāṭṭukkōṭṭai Nagarattār*).

(19) Final '*u*' preceded by a short vowel in a dis-syllabic word generally takes an enunciative vowel. ('*v*' in the following instances is a glide).

மடு *maḍu* > *māḍu-v-u*மடுவு
புழு *puḻu* > *puḻu-v-u* புழுவு
தெரு *teru* > *teru-v-u* தெருவு
கெடு *keḍu* > *keḍu-v-u* கெடுவு
பளு *paḷu* > *paḷu-v-u* பளுவு

(20) Final '*u*' in the dative case-sign '*ku*' changes into '*i*' if the termination of the nominative to which it is attached is '*i*', '*ai*' or '*y*'.

பள்ளிக்கு *paḷḷikku* > *paḷḷikki* பள்ளிக்கி
கஞ்சிக்கு *kañjikku* > *kañjikki* கஞ்சிக்கி
நாளைக்கு *nāḷaikku* > *nāḷaikki* நாளைக்கி
வேலைக்கு *vēlaikku* > *vēlaikki* வேலைக்கி
வாய்க்கு *vāykku* > *vāykki* வாய்க்கி
நாய்க்கு *nāykku* > *nāykki* நாய்க்கி

e[20]

(21) Initial '*e*' sometimes changes into '*o*' or '*i*'.

மெழுகு *meḻugu* > *moḻugu* மொழுகு
செருகு *cerugu* > *corugu* சொருகு
மெல்ல *mella* > *meḷḷa* > *moḷḷa* மொள்ள
பெட்டை *peṭṭai* > *poṭṭai* பொட்டை
மென்னை *meṉṉai* > *moṉṉai* மொன்னை
e > *i*
செலவு *celavu* > *cilavu* சிலவு

20. ē changes into ā or ō.

சேவல் *cēval* > *cāval* சாவல்
மேளம் *mēḷam* > *mōḷam* மோளம்

செவப்பு *cevappu* > *civappu* சிவப்பு
தெவிட்டு *teviṭṭu* > *tekaṭṭu* > *tikaṭṭu* திகட்டு
வெருட்டு *veruṭṭu* > *viraṭṭu* விரட்டு

(22) Medial '*e*' changes into '*a*'[21].

நடுப்பெற *naḍu-p-peṟa* > *nadu-p-paṟa* நடுப்பற
காலம்பெற *kālambeṟa* > *kālambaṟa* காலம்பற

(23) Initial '*ai*' followed by a consonant changes into '*a*'.

ஐந்து *aindu* > *aiñju* > *añju* அஞ்சு
ஐம்பது *aimbadu* > *ambadu* அம்பது
மைத்துனன் *maittuṉaṉ* > *macciṉaṉ* > *maccāṉ* மச்சான்
பைம்பொழில் *paimboḻil* > *pambuḷi* பம்புளி (Name of a village in the Tinnevelly District).

(24) Medial '*ai*' changes into '*a*'.

வலையன் *valaiyaṉ* > *valayaṉ* வலயன்
உடைமை *uḍaimai* > *uḍamai* உடமை
கடைவாய் *kaḍaivāy* > *kaḍavāy* கடவாய்
வளைவு *vaḷaivu* > *vaḷavu* வளவு
குதைச்சு *kudaiccu* > *kudaccu* குதச்சு
வாழைப்பழம் *vāḻai-p-paḻam* > *vāḻa-p-paḻam* வாழப்பழம்

o

(25) Initial '*o*' somtimes changes into '*u*' if followed by '*u*' or '*ai*'.

கொடு *koḍu* > *kuḍu* குடு
தொடை *toḍai* > *tuḍai* துடை
பொது *podu* > *pudu* புது (in *pudu niṟam*).
தொகை *tokai* > *tukai* துகை (in *aintukai*).

(*b*)

CONSONANTS

1. Final consonants, except the labial nasal, in monosyllabic words receive the addition of an enunciative vowel which is attached

ē > a

21 . அடிச்சேரியாள் *aḍiccēriyāḷ* > *aḍiccariyāḷ* அடிச்சரியாள்

directly to the final consonant if the preceding vowel is long or to the reduplicated final if the preceding vowel is short.

காய் *kāy* > *kāyi* காயி
பால் *pāl* > *pālu* பாலு
தேள் *tēḷ* > *tēḷu* தேளு
கூழ் *kūḻ* > *kūḻu* கூழு
தேன் *tēṉ* > *tēṉu* தேனு
மோர் *mōr* > *mōru* மோரு
நெய் *ney* > *neyyi* நெய்யி
பல் *pal* > *pallu* பல்லு
முள் *muḷ* > *muḷḷu* முள்ளு
கண் *kaṇ* > *kaṇṇu* கண்ணு

(2) If a medial nasal is followed by a surd with which it cannot coalesce it is supplanted by the nasal pertaining to the surd.[22]

வெண்கலம் *veṇkalam* > *veṅgalam* வெங்கலம்
புன்கு *puṉku* > *puṅgu* புங்கு
ஒன்பது *oṉpadu* > *ombadu* ஒம்பது
புன்செய் *puṉcey* > *puñjey* > *puñjai* புஞ்சை
எண்பது *eṇbadu* > *embadu* எம்பது
நோன்பு *nōṉpu* > *nōmbu* நோம்பு

k, ṅ

(3) Medial vowel-consonant of the gutteral class is generally elminated and the quantity of the preceding vowel is increased if it is short.[23]

22. கோன்கள்மார் *kōṉ-kaḷ-mār* > *kōṅgamār* கோங்கமார் (the sheperd community of the south.)
கிண்கிணி *kiṇ-kiṇi* > *kiṅgiṇi* (anklet) கிங்கிணி
கண்காணம் *kaṇ-kāṇam* > *kaṅgāṇam* கங்காணம்

23. உகந்தான்பட்டி *ukantāṉpaṭṭi* > *okantāṉpaṭṭi* > *ōntāṉpaṭṭi* ஓந்தான்பட்டி (a village in the Tinnevelly Dt.)
அகமுடையான் *akamuḍaiyāṉ* > *āmuḍaiyāṉ* > *āmbaḍaiyāṉ* ஆம்படையான்
முகரை *mukarai* > *mōrai* மோரை
மருமகன் *marumakaṉ* > *marumāṉ* மருமான்
பெருமகன் *perumakaṉ* > *perumāṉ* பெருமான்
தகப்பன் *takappaṉ* > *tokappaṉ* > *tōppaṉ* தோப்பன்
வடகம் *vaḍakam* > *vaḍām* வடாம்

துகள் *tukaḷ* > *tūḷ* தூள்
முகடு *mukaḍu* > *mokaḍu* > *mōḍu* மோடு
அகப்பை *akappai* > *āppai* ஆப்பை
நுகக்கால் *nuka-k-kāl* > *noka-k-kāl* > *nōkkāl* நோக்கால்
புகையிலை *pukai-y-ilai* > *pokai-y-iḷai* > *pōyilai* போயிலை
பகுதி *pakudi* > *pādi* பாதி
தொகுப்பு *tokuppu* > *tōppu* தோப்பு
உகிர்ச்சுற்று *ukir-c-cuṟṟu* > *ūr-c-cuṟṟu* ஊர்ச்சுற்று
மிகுந்து *mikundu* > *mīndu* மீந்து
புகுந்து *pukundu* > *pūndu* பூந்து

(4) '*k*' medial and final changes into '*v*'.

பாகல் *pākal* > *pāval* பாவல்
மகள் *makaḷ* > *mavaḷ* மவள்
கூகை *kūkai* > *kūvai* கூவை
திரிகை *tirikai* > *tiruvai* திருவை
சுளகு *cuḷaku* > *cuḷavu* சுளவு

C

(5) The initial palatal is pronounced almost as the sibilant(*s*) by the educated classes.

(6) Medial '*ṭ*' is sometimes eliminated.[24]

கொடுக்கி *koḍukki* > *kokki* (*hook*) கொக்கி
இடக்கர் *iḍakkar* > *eḍakkar* > *ekkar* எக்கர்
முடுக்கு *muḍukku* > *mukku* முக்கு
முடிந்து *muḍindu* > *muḍiñju* > *mūñju* மூஞ்சு

(7) '*ṭ*' preceded by its nasal is generally assimilated.

வேண்டும் *vēṇḍum* > *vēṇum* வேணும்
கொண்டு வந்து *koṇḍu vandu* > *koṇṇu vandu* > *koṇṇāndu* கொண்ணாந்து

24. CF. அடகு (Ta.) *aḍaku* > *āku* (Te.)
இடுக்கி (Ta.) *iḍukki* > *ikkuḷa* (K.), *ikkuḷi* (Tu.)

t,[25] *n*

(8) '*tt*' changes into '*cc*' if preceded by '*i*' or '*ai*'.

மிதித்த *mititta* > *miticca* மிதிச்ச
படித்த *paḍitta* > *paḍicca* படிச்ச
கழித்த *kaḻitta* > *kaḻicca* கழிச்ச
மன்னித்த *maṉṉitta* > *maṉṉicca* மன்னிச்ச
மைத்துனன் *maittuṉaṉ* > *maicciṉaṉ* > *macciṉaṉ* மச்சினன்
அழைத்த *aḻaitta* > *aḻaicca* அழைச்ச
அமைத்த *amaitta* > *amaicca* அமைச்ச
வதைத்த *vadaitta* > *vadaicca* வதைச்ச
அலைத்த *alaitta* > *alaicca* அலைச்ச

(9) Final '*t*' preceded by a short vowel changes into '*c*'.

பெரிது *peritu* > *pericu* > *perucu* பெருசு
புதிது *putitu* > *puticu* > *putucu* புதுசு
சிறிது *ciṟitu* > *ciṟicu* > *ciṟucu* சிறுசு
முழுது *muḻutu* > *muḻucu* முழுசு
மெல்லியது *mellitu* > *mellicu* மெல்லிசு

(10) Medial '*tt*' changes sometimes into '*ṭṭ*'.[26]

நகர்த்து *nakarttu* > *nakaṭṭu* நகட்டு
தீவர்த்தி *tīvartti* > *tīvaṭṭi* தீவட்டி
நந்தியாவர்த்தம் *nandiyāvarttam* > *nandiyāvaṭṭai* நந்தியாவட்டை

(11) '*nd*' changes into '*ñj*' if preceded by '*i*', '*ai*' or '*y*'.

இடிந்த *iḍinda* > *iḍiñja* இடிஞ்ச
பிரிந்த *pirinda* > *piriñja* பிரிஞ்ச

25. Medial *t* (*d*) sometimes changes into *r* or *l*

விதை *vidai* > *virai* விரை
செதுக்கி *cedukki* > *cerukki* செருக்கி
சதங்கை *cadaṅgai* > *calaṅgai* சலங்கை
சிதம்பரம் *cidambaram* > *cilambaram* சிலம்பரம்

26. Initial and medial '*t*' has changed in '*c*' in the following instances:

தட்டகப்பை *taṭṭakappai* > *caṭṭakappai* சட்டகப்பை
கொதுகு *koduku* > *kocuku* > *kocu* கொசு (mosquito).

நீந்த *nīnda* > *nīñja* நீஞ்ச
ஐந்து *aindu* > *aiñju* > *añju* அஞ்சு
உலைந்த *ulainda* > *ulaiñja* > *ulañja* உலஞ்ச
காய்ந்த *kāynda* > *kāyñja* > *kāñja* காஞ்ச
மேய்ந்த *mēynda* > *mēyñja* > *mēñja* மேஞ்ச

p, m

(12) The initial, medial, and final labial especially of loan-words changes into '*v*'.

bāṇa (Skt.) பாணம் *pāṇam* > *vāṇam* வாணம்
bālya (Skt.) பாலியம் *pāliyam* > *vālipam* வாலிபம்
bilva (Skt.) > *vilvam* வில்வம்
bhinda (Skt.) > *veṇḍai* வெண்டை

medial *p* > *v*

அபயம் *apayam* > *avayam* அவயம்
(commonly used in the sense of loud cry).

tapas (Skt.) தபசு *tapaśu* > *tavasu* தவசு
தபலை *tapalai* > *tavalai* தவலை
(Urdu) *zabād* > *cavvātu* சவ்வாது
(Urdu) *tabl* > *tavil* தவில்

final *p* > *v*

பாபி *pāpi* > *pāvi* பாவி
கபி *kapi* > *kavi* கவி

(13) '*m*' changes into '*v*'.

மீசை *mīcai* > *vīcai* வீசை
மருமம் *marumam* > *varumam* வருமம்
மசூரி *masūri* (*Urdu*) > *vasūri* வசூரி
தாமணி *dāmaṇi* > *dāvaṇi* தாவணி

ṟ ṉ

(14) '*ṟṟ*' changes into '*tt*' generally and into '*ṭṭ*' rarely.

ஊற்று *ūṟṟu* > *ūttu* ஊத்து
ஆற்றூர் *aṟṟūr* > *āttūr* ஆத்தூர்
மாற்று *māṟṟu* > *māttu* மாத்து

ṟṟ > ṭṭ

கழற்று *kaḻaṟṟu* > *kaḻaṭṭu* கழட்டு

சுழற்று *cuḻaṟṟu* > *cuḻaṭṭu* சுழட்டு

பதற்றம் *pataṟṟam* > *pataṭṭam* பதட்டம்

ஊற்றத்தூர் *ūṟṟattūr* > *ūṭṭattūr* ஊட்டத்தூர்

(15) '*ṉṟ*' changes into '*ṉṉ*' (which is sometimes changed into '*ṇṇ*')[27] generally and '*ṇṭ*' rarely. One of the two nasals is elided if the preceding vowel is long.[28]

ஒன்று *oṉṟu* > *oṉṉu* > *oṇṇu* ஒண்ணு

மூன்று *mūṉṟu* > *mūṉṉu* > *mūṇṇu* > *mūṇu* மூணு

ஊன்றி *ūṉṟi* > *ūṉṉi* > *ūṇṇi* > *ūṇi* ஊணி

கன்று *kaṉṟu* > *kaṉṉu* > *kaṇṇu* கண்ணு

நன்றி *naṉṟi* > *naṉṉi* > *naṇṇi* நண்ணி

ஒன்றி *oṉṟi* > *oṇḍi* ஒண்டி

ஒன்று *oṉṟu* > *oṇḍu* ஒண்டு (Jaffna dialect)

ஏன்று *ēṉṟu* > *ēṇḍu* ஏண்டு

நான்று *nāṉṟu* > *nāṇḍu* நாண்டு

(16) The alveolar surd (*ṟ*) is pronounced like the semi-vowel (*r*) when it is not duplicated and the alveolar nasal (*ṉ*) is hardly distinguishable from the dental nasal (*n*) in the colloquial speech, especially of the south.

(*c*)

SEMI—VOWELS

(17) Final liquids of polysyllabic words are elided.[29]

தண்ணீர் *taṇṇīr* > *taṇṇi* தண்ணி

பதநீர் *patanīr* > *patanī* > *patini* பதினி

27. The Change of '*ṉ*' into '*ṇ*' occurs in the following instances:

என்பி *eṉbi* > *eṇbi* எண்பி

கன்னலமுது *kaṉṉalamudu* > *kaṇṇalamudu* > *kaṇṇamudu* கண்ணமுது

கின்னரம் *kiṉṉaram* > *kiṉṉāram* > *kiṇṇāram* கிண்ணாரம்

28. '*ṉṟ*' > '*ṉṉ*'

குன்றத்தூர் *kuṉṟattūr* > *kuṉṉattūr* குன்னத்தூர்

குன்றிமுத்து *kuṉṟimuttu* > *kuṉṉimuttu* குன்னிமுத்து

கன்றி *kaṉṟi* > *kaṉṉi* கன்னி

தேங்காய் *tēṅgāi* > *tēṅgā* தேங்கா
எச்சில் *eccil* > *ecci* எச்சி
தாழ்ப்பாள் *tāḻppāḷ* > *tāppā* தாப்பா [29]

(18) Medial liquids are elided if they are followed by surds.[30]

ஆய்ச்சி *āycci* > *ācci* ஆச்சி
பேர்த்தி *pērtti* > *pētti* பேத்தி
மேய்க்கி *mēykki* > *mēkki* மேக்கி
பீர்க்கு *pīrkku* > *pīkku* பீக்கு
கேழ்ப்பை *kēḻppai* > *kēppai* கேப்பை
மெய்ச்சு *meyccu* > *meccu* மெச்சு

(19) Initial '*yā*' changes into '*ā*'.

யானை *yāṉai* > *āṉai* ஆனை
யாண்டு *yāṇḍu* > *āṇḍu* ஆண்டு
யார் *yār* > *ār* ஆர்

(20) Medial '*y*' changes into '*c*'[31].

முயல் *muyal* > *mucal* முசல்
குயவன் *kuyavaṉ* > *kucavaṉ* குசவன்
உயிர் *uyir* > *ucir* உசிர்
கயம் *kayam* > *kacam* கசம்

(21) Medial '*y*' preceded by a short vowel and not functioning as a glide is sometimes eliminated and the quantity of the preceding vowel is increased.

29. நாஞ்சில்நாடு *nāñjilnāḍu* > *nāñjināḍu* நாஞ்சிநாடு
மொக்குள் *mokkuḷ* > *mokku* மொக்கு
குண்டில் *kuṇḍil* > *kuṇḍu* குண்டு
பரிசில் *paricil* > *paricu* பரிசு

30. பார்ப்பு *pārppu* > *pāppu* பாப்பு
ஆர்த்தி *ārtti* > *ātti* ஆத்தி
வர்த்தி *vartti* > *vatti* வத்தி
மூர்க்கன் *mūrkkaṉ* > *mūkkaṉ* மூக்கன் (*Kombēri-mūkkaṉ*).
அமர்க்களம் *amarkkaḷam* > *amakkaḷam* அமக்களம்

31. அயர்ந்து *ayarndu* > *acandu* அசந்து (cf. *acati*)
புயல் *puyal* > *pucal* புசல்

3

பெயர் *peyar* > *pēr* பேர்
இயலும் *iyalum* > *eyalum* > *ēlum* ஏலும்
வியர்வை *viyarvai* > *veyarvai* > *vērvai* வேர்வை
பெயர்த்து *peyarttu* > *pērttu* > *pēttu* பேத்து
செய்தி *ceyti* > *cēti* சேதி

(22) Final '*y*' in non-monosyllabic words is eliminated and the preceding vowel is changed into '*ai*'.

போனாய் *pōṉāy* > *pōṉai* போனை
வந்தாய் *vandāy* > *vandai* வந்தை
சிற்றாய் *ciṟṟāy* > *ciṟṟai* > *citti*[32] சித்தி
எண்ணெய் *eṇṇey* > *eṇṇai* எண்ணை
வெண்ணெய் *veṇṇey* > *veṇṇai* வெண்ணை
மஞ்சணெய் *mañjaṇey* > *mañjaṇai* மஞ்சணை
குறுநொய் *kuṟu-noy* > *kuruṉai* > *kuṟuṇai* குறுணை
நன்செய் *naṉcey* > *nañjey* > *nañjai* நஞ்சை
குடுவாய் *kuḍuvāy* > *kuḍuvai*[33] குடுவை

(23) Medial '*r*' changes into '*l*'[34].

குரவை *kuruavi* > *kulavai* குலவை
இருப்பை *iruppai* > *iluppai* இலுப்பை

32. Final '*ai*' sometimes changes into '*i*'.
புல்லணை *pullaṇai* > *pullāṇi* புல்லாணி
தலையணை *talaiyaṇai* > *talaiyāṇi* தலையாணி
பாம்பரணை *pāmbaraṇai* > *pāmbirāṇi* பாம்பிராணி
Probably '*koṟṟavay*' (*Koṟṟa-v-āy*), Goddess of Victory, has become '*koṟṟavai*'.
In the literary usage, தொழுநோய் *toḻunōy* has changed into *toḻuṉai* (தொழுனை) — Jnānāmirtam, 19.
காக்கா *kākkā* > *kākkāy* > *kākkai* காக்கை

33. The original form of *Kuḍuvay* was probably *Kuṟuvāy* (narrow mouth). The change of '*ṟ*' into '*ḍ*' may be noted in *kuṟumbi* > *kuḍumbi* (காதுக் குடும்பி)

34. '*r*' changes into '*l*' in loan-words also.
(Skt.) *ātura* > *ātula* > *ātulaṉ* (Ta.) ஆதுலன
(Skt.) *āratti* > *ālatti* (Ta.) ஆலத்தி
(Fr.) *rōndu* > *lōndu* (Ta.) in the Tinnevelly District.
(Hindi) *guzri* > *kucili* (Ta.) குசிலி

குரைத்தல் *kuraittal* > *kulaittal* குலைத்தல்
திருவாரூர் *tiruvārūr* > *tiruvālūr* திருவாலூர்
துருக்கர் *turukkar* > *tulukkar* துலுக்கர்

(24) Medial '*r*' is sometimes elided.[35]

பொருக்கு *porukku* > *pokku* பொக்கு
உருண்டை *uruṇḍai* > *uṇḍai* உண்டை
பருப்பு *paruppu* > *pappu* பப்பு (in the nursery dialect).
அலர்மேல் *alarmēl* > *alamēl* அலமேல்
குளிர்தாமரை *kuḷir-tāmarai* > *kuḷi-tāmarai* குளிதாமரை

(25) '*l*' changes into '*ḷ*'.[36]

கலை *kalai* > *kaḷai* களை (as in *mukakkaḷai*)
கூலம் *kūlam* > *kūḷam* கூளம் (as in *kuḷa-k-kaḍai-t teru* in Tinnevelly).
ஏலா *ēlā* > *ēḷā* ஏளா
முதலை *mutalai* > *mutaḷai* முதளை
மூலைக்கரைப்பட்டி *mūlaikkaraippaṭṭi* > *mūḷikkaraippaṭṭi* மூளிக்கரைப்பட்டி (a village in the Tinnevelly District).

35. The elimination of medial '*r*' is common in the other Dravidian languages.
(Ta.) *iruppai* > *ippa* (Te.), *ippe* (Ka.)
(Ta.) *urukku* > *ukku* (Te.), *ukku* (Ka.)
(Ta.) *paruppu* > *pappu* (Te.), *pappu* (Ka.)
(Ta.) *ceruppu* > *ceppu* (Te.)

36. தலம் *talam* > *taḷam* தளம்
துல்லியம் *tulliyam* > *tuḷḷipam* துள்ளிபம்
தீபாவலி *tīpāvali* > *tīpāvaḷi* தீபாவளி
Medial and final *l* changes into *r*
தாலாட்டு *tālāṭṭu* > *tārāṭṭu* தாராட்டு
(Eng.) *lantern, lāntal* > *rāntal* ராந்தல் (Tin.)
(Eng.) *hospital, āspital* > *āspatali* > *āspattari* ஆஸ்பத்தரி
முதலி *mūtali* > *mūtari* முதரி
தோலாத *tōlāta* > *tōrāta* தோராத

(26) Initial and medial '*v*' changes into '*m*'.[37]

வானம் *vāṉam* > *māṉam* மானம்
விழித்தல் *viḻittal* > *muḻittal* முழித்தல்
விழுங்கு *viḻuṅgu* > *mḻuṅgu* முழுங்கு
வேய்தல் *vēytal* > *mēytal* மேய்தல்
வடவர் *vaḍavar* > *vaḍamar* வடமர்
குவித்தல் *kuvittal* > *kumittal* குமித்தல்

(27) Medial and final '*v*' changes into '*k*'

பவழம் *pavaḻam* > *pakaḻam* பகழம்
கழுவி *kaḻuvi* > *kaḻuki* கழுகி
நாவல் *nāval* > *nākal* நாகல் (*nākappaḻam*)
சாவ *cāva* > *cāka* சாக
நோவ *nōva* > *nōka* நோக

(28) Medial '*v*' preceded by a short vowel and not functioning as a glide is eliminated and the quantity of the preceding vowel is increased.

உவச்சன் *uvaccaṉ* > *ovaccaṉ* > *ōccaṉ* ஓச்சன்
தவடை *tavaḍai* > *tāḍai* தாடை
செவப்பு *cevappu* > *cēppu* சேப்பு
எவன் *eveṉ* > *ēṉ* ஏன்

(29) '*ḻ*' is pronounced like '*ḷ*' in the southern districts of the Tamil country and in Jaffna.

(30) '*ḻ*' is largely elided, with or without compensation.

குழந்தை *kuḻandai* > *koḻandai* > *kōndai* கோந்தை
தாழ்ப்பாள் *tāḻppāḷ* > *tāppāḷ* தாப்பாள்
போழ்து *pōḻdu* > *pōdu* போது
கூழ்ப்பதநீர் *kūḻppadanīr* > *kūppadani* கூப்பதநி or கூப்பதிநி

37. வானமாரிக்குளம் *vāṉamārikkuḷam* > *māṉāmārikkuḷam* மானாமாரிக்குளம்
The change of *v* into *b* is common in the Dravidian languages.
(Ta.) வயல் *vayal* > *bayal* (Te. Ka. Tu.)
(Ta.) வரவு *varavu* > *baravu* (Ka.)
(Ta.) வயிறு *vayiṟu* > *basiru* (Ka.)

எழுந்திரு *elundiru* > *endiru* எந்திரு or ஏந்திரு
எழும்பு *elumbu* > *embu* எம்பு
தொழும்பன் *tōlumban* > *tomban* தொம்பன்

(31) Instrusive '*r*' occurs in certain words.

கோவை *kōvai* > *kōrvai* கோர்வை
சேவை *cēvai* > *cērvai* சேர்வை (as in Garuḍa cērvai).
தோட்டி *tōṭṭi* > *toraṭṭi* தொரட்டி
தேகம் *tēkam* > *tirēkam* திரேகம்
ஆலாபனம் *ālāpaṉam* > *ālāparaṇam* ஆலாபரணம்

(32) Instrusive'*ḷ*' is found in a few words.

தேவை *tēvai* > *tēḷvai* தேள்வை (very common in Jaffna).
என்பது *eṇpadu* > *eṇpḷadu* எண்ப்ளது (in the Tanjore Dt.).

(33) Intrusion of the labial consonant after its nasal is noticed in some words.

குடுமி *kuḍumi* > *kuḍumbi* குடும்பி
தாமிரம் *tāmiram* > *tāmbiram* தாம்பிரம்
ஆமூர் *āmur* > *āmbūr* ஆம்பூர்
எழுமூர் *elumūr* > *elumbūr* எழும்பூர்
கோதுமை *kōdumai* > *kōdumbai* கோதும்பை
காமரா *kāmarā* > *kāmbrā* காம்பரா (in the South Arcot Dt.).

(34) Euphonic nasalisation of surds is a common feature.

அடு *aḍu* > *aṇḍu* அண்டு
தடி *taḍi* > *taṇḍi* தண்டி
ஊசல் *ūcal* > *ūñjal* ஊஞ்சல்
பூசணம் *pūcaṇam* > *pūñjaṇam* பூஞ்சணம்
śunaka (Skt.) > *cūṇaku* > *cuṇaṅgaṉ* சுணங்கன்

(35) Euphonic assimilation of concurrent consonants.[38]

38. திருநயம் *tirunayam* > *tiṇṇiyam* (name of a village)-Life of Mīṉāṭcisundaram Pillai, Vol. I. 18, see foot note by Dr. V. Swaminatha Iyer.

பட்சேரி *paṭcēri* (*paḷ* + *cēri*) > *paccēri* பச்சேரி

மண்வெட்டி *maṇveṭṭi* > (*maṇ* + *veṭṭi*) > *mampaṭṭi* > *mammaṭṭi* மம்மட்டி

வெட்கம் *veṭkam* > *vekkam* வெக்கம்

கள்வன் *kaḷvaṉ* > *kaḷḷaṉ* கள்ளன்

முள்வாங்கி *muḷvāṅgi* > *muḷḷāṅgi* முள்ளாங்கி

தென்பாங்கு *teṉpāṅgu* > *tembāṅgu* > *temmāṅgu* தெம்மாங்கு

நன்மை தின்மை *naṉmai tiṉmai* > *nammai timmai* நம்மை திம்மை

செல்வம் *celvam* > *cellam* செல்லம்

சண்முகன் *caṇmukaṉ* > *cammukaṉ* சம்முகன்

(36) Dissimilation.

பட்டடை *paṭṭaḍai* > *paṭṭarai* பட்டரை

ஒட்டடை *oṭṭaḍai* > *oṭṭarai* ஒட்டரை

மார்வாரி *mārvāri* > *mārvāḍi* மார்வாடி

மண்ணுணி *maṇṇuṇi* > *maṇṇuḷi* மண்ணுளி

சாதர்வார் *cādarvār* > *cādalvār* சாதல்வார்

(37) Aphesis.

உலாத்து *ulāttu* > *lāttu* லாத்து

ஆலோசனை *ālōcaṉai* > *lōcaṉai* > *rōcaṉai* ரோசனை

இரண்டு *iraṇḍu* > *raṇḍu* > *reṇḍu* ரெண்டு

(38) Metathesis.

கொப்புளம் *koppuḷam* > *pokkaḷam* பொக்களம்

அபராதம் *aparātam* > *avatāram* அவதாரம்

குபார் *gubār* (Urdu) > *pukār* புகார்

பட்டாசு *paṭṭāsu* > *tappāsu* டப்பாசு

(39) Haplology.

அவாவல் *avā-v-al* > *āval* ஆவல்

நுகக்கால் *nuka-k-kāl* > *noka-k-kāl* > *nōkkāl* நோக்கால்

ஆரோரூட் *arro(w) root* > *āroṭṭu* ஆரொட்டு

பன்னான்கு குழி *paṉṉāṉgu kuḷi* > *pāṉṉāṅguḷi* > *pallāṅguḷi* பல்லாங்குழி

(40) Aversion to the initial aspirate in loan words.

hundred (Eng.) > *andar* அந்தர்

hospital (Eng.)	>	*āspattali* > *āspattari* ஆஸ்பத்தரி		
huṇḍi (Urdu)	>	*uṇḍi* உண்டி		
hukka (Urdu)	>	*ukkā* உக்கா		
halwa (Urdu)	>	*alwā* அல்வா		
huḍukka (Skt.)	>	*uḍukku* உடுக்கு (உடுக்கை)		

II. *Grammatical.*

(*a*) *Nouns*

1. Appellative nouns are generally[39] formed in the literary language by the addition of the maculine and feminine formative suffixes[40] to abstract or neuter nouns. In the colloquial language the words *kāraṉ* and *kāri* are commonly employed as masculine and feminine terminations respectively of appellatives.[41]

	Lit.	Col.
Mas.	*vambaṉ*	*vambu-k-kāraṉ*[42]
Fem.	*vambi*	*vambu-k-kāri*

39. *Kāraṉ* is occasionally employed as an appellative termination in the literary usage. The words *kañca-kārar* (braziers), *tuṉṉakārar* (tailors) occur in Cilappatikāram (Ch. V. 28, 32).

40. The suffixes *āḷaṉ* and *āḷi* are also used as singular terminations of appellative nouns in the literary language. In such cases the colloquial language employs the suffix *kāraṉ*.

Literary.	Colloquial.
kāval-āḷaṉ or *kāval-āḷi*	*kaval-k-kāraṉ*
kolai-y-āḷaṉ or *kolai-y-āḷi*	*kolai-kāraṉ.*

41. The word suffixes *kāraṉ* and *kāri* are sometimes attached in the colloquial language to the popular equivalents of literary terms.

Literary.	Colloquial.
Mas. *Celvaṉ*	*Paṇa-k-kāraṉ*
Fem. *Celvi*	*Paṇa-k-kāri*
Mas. *Piṇi-y-aṉ* or *piṇi-y-āḷaṉ*	*Cīkku-k-kāraṉ*
Mas. *Ciṉattaṉ*	*Kōpa-k-kāraṉ*

Kāri is sometimes used as an epicene suffix, e. g., *pāva-k-kāri.*

42. The following revenue terms are in come use in the Tamil country.

Viṇṇappa-k-kāraṉ (P. T. L.) *Paṉṉai-k-kāraṉ* (P. T. L)
maṇiya-k-kāraṉ (P. T. L.) *taṇḍal-k-kāraṉ* (P. T. L.)

(P. T. L.—Papers relating to the Tamil Language—by A. Robertson).

Mas.	*koḍiyaṉ*	*kodumai-k-kāraṉ*
Fem.	*koḍiyaḷ*	*koḍumai-k-kāri*
Mem.	*aḍiyāṉ*	*aḍimai-k-kāraṉ*
Fem.	*aḍiyāḷ*	*aḍimai-k-kāri.*

2. In the speech of the northern districts of the Tamil country, *kāraṉ* and *kāri* are commonly attached to nouns fitted with regular masculine and feminine terminations.

	Lit.	Col.
Mas.	*puruṣaṉ*	*puruṣaṉ-kāraṉ*
Fem.	*peṇḍāṭṭi*	*peṇḍātti-k-kāri*
Mas.	*aṇṇaṉ*	*aṇṇaṉ-kāraṉ*
Fem.	*attai*	*attai-k-kāri*

3. Abstract nouns of quality which are formed in the literary language by the addition of the suffix *mai* are commonly formed in the colloquial language by affixing the termination *taṉam.*[43]

Lit.	Col.
kuḍi-mai	*kuḍi-t-taṉam*
maḍa-mai	*mada-t-taṉam*
piḷḷai-mai	*piḷḷai-t-taṉam*
ciṟu-mai	*ciṉṉa-t-taṉam*
peru-mai	*periya-taṉam*

43. (a). The termination *taṉam* is sometimes attached to appllative nouns in the colloquial language, e. g. —

vīṇaṉ-taṉam	*vīṇa-t-taṉam*
muṭṭāḷ-taṉam	*muṭṭāḷ-t-taṉam*
pōkkiri-taṉam	*pōkkiri-t-taṉam*
pāittiya-k-kārān-taṉam	*paittiya-k-kārat-t-taṉam*

Such a formation is occasionally found in the literary language e. g., *vaḷḷaṟṟaṉam* (*vaḷḷal-t-taṉam*)—Kambarāmāyaṇam, Ayōdyākāṇḍam, nagarniṅgu, 82.

43. (b). *taṉam* is sometimes affixed to abstract or verbal nouns in colloquial usage, e. g. :—

aḍimai-taṉam	*aḍimai-t-taṇam*
ciṟumai-taṉam	*ciṟumai-t-taṉam; ciṉṉa-t-taṉam*
kuṟumbu-taṉam	*kuṟumbu-t-taṉam*

4. The suffix *dār* (Persian) > *dhāra* (Skt.)[44] which is a common termination of several Urdu terms current in the colloquial language is sometimes attached to indigeneous substantives or Sanskrit derivatives as a suffix indicative of right or possession.

	Urdu	Sanskrit	Tamil
(Arabic)	*Mirās-dār*	*anubōga-dār*	*aḍaimāṉa-dār*
(Arabic)	*Tāsil-dār*	*kiraya-dār*	*oṟṟi* > *oṭṭi-dār*
(Arabic)	*Haqq-dār*		*maṉu-dār*
(Arabic)	*Iṉām-dār*		
(Arabic)	*Candā-dār*		

5. Colloquialisms are sometimes formed on the anology of literary terms.

Lit.	*naṉmai-tīmai*	Col.	*nō-k-kāḍu*[47]
Col.	*naṉmai-tiṉmai*[45]	Col.	*vē-k-kāḍu*
Lit.	*kuṟṟa-vāḷi*	Col.	*pō-k-kāḍu*
Col.	*cutta-vāḷi*[46]	Col.	*viḻu-k-kāḍu*

6. The word *māṉam*[48] is largely used as a nominal suffix in the colloquial language in cases where the literary language employs a suffix of the verbal noun.

44. The suffix *dāran* is also used for the same purpose, e. g.
kuttagai-dāran (Lessee) C. G. 14.
viṇṇappa-dāran (Petitioner) C. G. 62.
lēṇi-dāran (Creditor) C. G. 69.
vārsu-dāran (Heir) C. G. 61.
Hak > *akku-dāran* (Holder of a right) C. G. 63.
(C. G.—Classified glossary by Sivaramaiya.)

45. *Tiṉmai* is occasionally used in Tamil poetry. Refer Taṉiyaṉ, Kambarāmāyaṇam.

46. *Cuttavāḷi* is commonly used in criminal courts of justice as the opposite of *Kuṟṟavāḷi* (guilty person).

47. These four words are formed by suffixing *kāḍu* to the verbal roots probably after the manner of *cākkāḍu* used in the literary language (Tirukkuṟaḷ, 339).

48. *Māṉam* is sometimes affixed to substantive nouns, e. g.
vēlai-māṉam *kaṭṭu - māṉam*
vāṉam, a variant of māṉam, is used as a suffix in *cil-vāṉam.*

Lit.	Col.
tīrppu	*tīr-māṉam*
cērkkai	*cēr-māṉam*
aḍaku (*aḍaiku*)	*aḍai-māṉam*
aḻivu	*aḻi-māṉam*
varavu	*varu-māṉam*

7. In the colloquial language the principal noun in a sentence is repeated with initial variation probably for the sake of effect. In such cases the first syllable of the second word is *ki* or *kī* according as the initial syllable of the original word is short or long.

ki	kī
kaṟai-kiṟai	*kāḍu-kīḍu*
calli-killi	*cāḍi-kīḍi*
taḍi-kiḍi	*tāḍi-kīḍi*
paṉai-kiṉai	*pāṉai-kīṉai*
maram-kiram	*māḍi-kīḍi*

8. In the literary language numeral appellative nouns of plurality are formed by affixing the epicine plural suffix to the numeral adjective[48a]. The colloquial language generally expresses pluralily of persons by suitable post-positions to the neuter nouns of number.

Lit.	Col.
iru-v-ar	*iraṇḍu-pēr* (or *āḷ*)
aṟu-v-ar	*āṟu-pēr*
eṇ-mar	*eṭṭu-p-pēr*
nūṟṟu-v-ar	*nūṟu-pēr*
āyira-v-ar	*āyiram-pēr*

48-a. The epicene plural suffix *ar*, (*ār*) *is used* as an honorific singular suffix, particularly in the colloquial usage of the south.

Sing.	Hon. Sing.
Aiyan	*Aiyar*
Rāvuttaṉ	*Rāvuttar*
Mudali	*Mudali-y-ār*
Ceṭṭi	*Ceṭṭi-y-ār*

b. Pronouns

1. In the colloquial language *nāṉ*[49] in the first person singular and *nāṅgaḷ* in the first person plural are commonly used. *Nām*[50] is occasionally used in the first person singular by the dignitaries of the Church and the State.

In the second person, *nī*, *nīr*, and *nīṅgaḷ* are employed to denote different degrees of respectability. *Nī* is generally used with reference to inferiors, *nīr* with reference to equals and *nīṅgaḷ* with reference to superiors. Sometimes the reflexive plural *tāṅgaḷ* is used in the second person singular when the highest respect is meant to be expressed.

Similarly the demonstrative pronouns, *avaṉ*, *avar*, *avargaḷ* are used in the singular with reference to persons occupying inferior, equal and superior positions respectively. It must be said, however, that usage has not evolved a uniform standard of respectability applicable to the Tamil country as a whole, and hence there are differences in the application of these honorific pronouns. For instance, *nīr* and *avar* which are regarded as terms of respect in the northern districts of the Tamil country are not considered to be sufficiently respectable in the southern districts. *Avargaḷ* corrupted into *avāḷ* is commonly attached in the colloquial language of the south to the name of the community to which a person belongs.

e.g. *Aiyar-avāḷ* *Piḷḷai-avāḷ* *Mudaliyār-avāḷ*.

Demonstrative singular pronouns are pluralised in the literary language by replacing the singular suffixes by plural particles but in the colloquial language they are generally pluralised by suffixing the neuter particle of pluralisation,[51] and the corresponding verbs are pluralised likewise.

49. *Yāṉ* in the first person singular and *yām* in the first person plural are preferred to *nāṉ* and *nām* in elegant literary usage.

50. In the colloquial language *nām* is used in the plural as an inclusive pronoun but the inflectional base of this plural pronoun is commonly used as a polite or courteous singular. In the expressions *nam-paiyaṉ* or *namma paiyaṉ*; *nam vīḍu* or *namma vīḍu*, the inflectional base which has the genetive force is really a polite singular though plural in form.

51. *atugaḷ* (P. T. L. 184) *iruntadugaḷ* (P. T. L. 194)
itugaḷ (P. T. L. 178) *irukkutugaḷ* (P. T. L. 175)

	Mas. Sing.	Fem. Sing.	Mas. Plu.	Fem. Plu.	Neu. Sing.	Neu. Plu.
Lit.	*avaṉ*	*avaḷ*	*avar*	*avar*	*atu*	*avai*
Col.	*avaṉ*	*avaḷ*	*avaṅgaḷ*	*avaḷgaḷ*	*atu*	*atugaḷ*

	Mas.-Fem.	Neu.
Lit.	*avar vandār*	*avai vandaṉa*
Col.	*avaṅgal vandāṅgaḷ*	*atugal*
	avaḷgaḷ vandāḷgaḷ	*vandatugaḷ*

2. Demonstrative and interrogative relative participles are used in the colloquial language in cases where the literary language employs demonstrative and interrogative prefixes.

Lit.	Col.
a-v-vīḍu	*anda vīḍu*
a-m–maram	*anda maram*
e-v-vīḍu	*enda vīḍu*
e-m-maram	*enda maram*

c. Verbs

1. The only medial particle (*iḍainilai*) of the present tense in use in the colloquial language is *kiṟu* of which the last syllable is generally elided if the initial consonant of the medial particle is re-duplicated in combination[52] (Sandhi) and the first syllable is elided in other cases.[53]

52. In cases where the semi-vowel preceding the medial particle is changed into a surd by grammatical rules of combination, the second syllable of the medial particle is ordinarily eliminated in the colloquial language.

	Mas.	Fem.	Neu.
Lit.	*kēṭ-kiṟ-āṉ*	*kēṭ-kiṟ-āḷ*	*kēṭ-kiṟ-atu*
	kēḷ-k-k-āṉ	*kēḷ-k-k-āḷ*	*kēḷ-k-k-utu*
Col.	*kē-k-k-āṉ*	*kē-k-k-āḷ*	*kē-k-k-utu*
Lit.	*niṟ-kiṟ-āṉ*	*niṟ-kiṟ-āḷ*	*niṟ-kiṟ-atu*
	nil-k-k-āṉ	*nil-k-k-āḷ*	*nil-k-k-utu*
Col.	*ni-k-k-āṉ*	*ni-k-k-āḷ*	*ni-k k-vtu*

53. Where the medial particle *kiṟu* is preceded by *ṉ*, the second syllable is eliminated and the alveolar nasal is replaced by the guttural nasal in pronunciation.

Lit.	Col.
eṉ-kiṟ-āṉ	*eṉ-k-āṉ* > *eṅgāṉ* > *iṅgāṉ*
tiṉ-kiṟ-āṉ	*tiṉ-k-āṉ* > *tiṅgāṉ*

	Mas.	Fem.	Neu.
Lit.	*iru-k-kir̲-ān̲*	*iru-k-kir̲-āḷ*	*iru-k-kir̲-atu*
Col.	*iru-k-k-ān̲*	*iru-k-k-āḷ*	*iru-k-k-utu*[54]
Lit.	*pār-k-kir̲-ān̲*	*pār-k-kir̲-āḷ*	*pār-k-kir̲-atu*
Col.	*pār-k-k-ān̲*	*pār-k-kāḷ*	*pār-k-k-utu*
Lit.	*ēy-k-kir̲-ān̲*	*ēy-k-kir̲-āḷ*	*ēy-k-kir̲-atu*
Col.	*ēy-k-k-ān̲*	*ēy-k-k-āḷ*	*ēy-k-k-utu*
Lit.	*pō-kir̲-ān*	*pō-kir̲-āḷ*	*pō-kir̲-atu*
Col.	*pō-r̲-ān̲*	*pō-r̲-āḷ*	*pō-r̲-atu*
Lit.	*ōḍu-kir̲-ān̲*	*ōḍu-kir̲-āḷ*	*ōḍu-kir̲-atu*[55]
Col.	*ōḍu-r̲-ān̲*	*ōḍu-r̲-āḷ*	*ōḍu-r̲-atu*
Lit.	*pāy-kir̲-ān̲*	*pāy-kir̲-āḷ*	*pāy-kir̲-atu*
Col.	*pāy-r̲-ān̲*	*pāy-r-āḷ*	*pāy-r̲-atu*
Lit.	*taḷḷu-kir̲-ān̲*	*taḷḷu-kir̲-āḷ*	*taḷḷu-kir̲-atu*
Col.	*taḷḷu-r̲-ān̲*	*taḷḷu-r̲-āḷ*	*taḷḷu-r̲-atu*

2. In the colloquial language the neuter singular termination *ir̲r̲u* of finite verbs of the past tense is changed into *iccu* to which the neuter pronominal termination *tu* is sometimes attached.[56]

ir̲r̲u > *ittu* > *iccu*

		Lit.						Col.
āy-ir̲r̲u	>	*āyittu*	>	*āyiccu*	>	*āyccu*	>	*āccu, āccutu*
pōy-ir̲r̲u	>	*pōyittu*	>	*pōyiccu*	>	*pōyccu*	>	*pōccu, pōccutu*
tāv-ir̲r̲u	>	*tāvittu*	>	*tāviccu*			>	*tāvuccu*

54. Bharathi's *Kaṇṇan̲ pāṭṭu.* The change of *atu* into *utu* is perhaps due to assimilation.

55. *r* often changes into *t*. Note the following colloquial forms.

Mas.	Fem.	Neu.
ōḍu-t-ān̲	*ōḍu-t-āḷ*	*ōḍu-tu*
pāy-t-ān̲	*pāy-t-āḷ*	*pāy-tu* (*pāy-u-tu*)
taḷḷu-t-ān̲	*taḷḷu-t-āḷ*	*taḷḷu-tu*

Irukkutu, pāyutu (present tense), and *āccu, pōccu* (past tense) are recognised as corruptions (*marūu*) in the Tamil grammar, and used as such in modern Tamil poetry. *irukkutu* (Kur̲r̲āla-k-kur̲avañci); *pāyutu, āccu, pōccu* (Bharathi's poems).

56. *āccutu, pōccutu,* Bharathi's Pāñchāli Capatam, 1, 113.

3. The present tense is commonly used for the future in the colloquial language.

Lit.	Col.
nāḷai-k-ku-varuvēṉ	*nāḷai-k-ku-varukiṟēṉ*
ūrukku-p-pōy-eḻuṭuvēṉ	*ūrukku-p-pōy-eḻutukiṟēṉ*

4. The formation of the negative verb by inserting the particle of negation between the verbal root and the pronominal termination is restricted to the neuter in the colloquial language. In the masculine and feminine genders the negative particle is attached to an auxiliary verb inserted between the verbal theme and the pronominal termination.

	Mas.	Fem.	Neu.
Lit.	*cey-y-āṉ*	*cey-y-āḷ*	*cey-y-ā-tu*
Col.	*ceyya-māṭṭ-āṉ*	*ceyya-māṭṭ-āḷ*	*cey-y-ā-tu*
Lit.	*nillāṉ*	*nillāḷ*	*nillātu*
Col.	*niṟka-māṭṭāṉ*	*niṟka-māṭṭāḷ*	*nillātu*

5. When the termination of the affirmative verbs in the neuter is preceded by the guttural consonant, the particle of negation is inserted between the guttural consonant and the pronominal termination in the colloquial language.

	Affirmative.	Negative.
Lit.	*naḍa-k-kum*	*naḍa-v-ā-tu*
Col.	*naḍa-k-kum*	*naḍa-k-kā-tu*
Lit.	*iru-k-kum*	*ir-ā-tu*
Col.	*iru-k-kum*	*iru-k-kā-tu*

6. Consonantal glides are not usually invoked in the colloquial language for the euphonic combination of contiguous vowels.[57]

Lit.	Col.
paṉai-y-ōlai	*paṉai-ōlai*
palā-v-ilai	*palā-ilai*
tiru-v-avatāram	*tiru-avatāram*

57. In some familiar compounds the glides are retained in the colloquial anguage probably by the force of literary usage.

tiru + ātirai (tiru-v-ātirai)
tiru + ārūr (tiru-v-ārūr)
tiru + aiyāṟu (tiru-v-aiyāṟu)

7. The grammatical rules governing the *'euphonic permutation of consonants'* are generally ignored in the colloquial language. For instance, the rules governing.

(a) the change of *ṇ* and *ṉ* into *ṭ* and *ṟ* respectively before surds.

	Lit.	Col.
maṇ + kuḍam	*maṭ-kuḍam*	*maṇ-kuḍam*
maṇ + cuvar	*maṭ-cuvar*	*maṇ-cuvar*
poṉ + kiṇṇi	*poṟ-kiṇṇi*	*poṉ-kiṇṇi*
poṉ + caraḍu	*poṟ-caraḍu*	*poṉ-caraḍu*

(b) The change of *l* and *ḷ* into *ṟ* and *ṭ* respectively before surds and into *ṉ* and *ṇ* before nasals.[58]

	Lit.	Col.
kaḍal + karai	*kāḍaṟkarai*	*kaḍal-k-karai*
pal + poḍi	*paṟpoḍi*	*pal-lu-p-poḍi*
kal + malai	*kaṉmalai*	*kal-lu-malai*
kaḷ + kaḍai	*kaṭkaḍai*	*kaḷ-ḷu-k-kaḍai*
muḷ + ceḍi	*muṭceḍi*	*muḷ-ḷu-c-ceḍi*
aruḷ + moḻi	*aruṇmoḻi*	*aruḷ-moḻi*

(c) The change of *t* into *ṟ* after *l* and *ṉ* and into *ṭ* after *ḷ* and *ṇ*.

	Lit.	Col.
kal + tūṇ	*kaṟṟūṇ*	*kal-t-tūṇ*
pul + tarai	*puṟṟarai*	*pullu-t-tarai*
māṉ + tōl	*māṉṟōl*	*māṉ-tōl*
muḷ + tāḷ	*muṭṭāḷ*	*muḷ-t-tāḷ*
maṇ + tāḻi	*maṭṭāḻi*	*maṇ-tāḻi*

		Lit.	Col.
58.	Kōyil-celavu	kōyiṟcelavu	kōyil-c-celavu (P. T. L. 179)
	mutal+peṇ	mutaṟpeṇ	mutal-p-peṇ (P. T. L. 196)
	mēl+kaṇḍa	mēṟkaṇḍa	mēl-k-kaṇḍa (P. T. L. 176)
	uḷ+kuḍi	uṭkuḍi	uḷ-k-kuḍi (P. T. L. 179)
	uḷ+paṭṭa	uṭpaṭṭa	uḷ-p-paṭṭa (P. T. L. 173)

(d) The change of *n* into *ṉ* after *l* and into *ṇ* after *ḷ*.

	Lit.	Col.
pul + nuṉi	*puṉṉuṉi*	*pul-nuṉi*
kal + nāḍu	*kaṉṉāḍu*	*kal-nāḍu*
uḷ + nilam	*uṇṇilam*	*uḷ-nilam*
uḷ + nākku	*uṇṇākku*	*uḷ-nākku*

III. *Lexical*

The vocabulary of the literary language consists of four classes of words; viz.

1. *Iyaṟcol* — (Simple, common words)

2. *Tiricol* — (literary words)[59]

3. *Ticai-c-col* — (words borrowed from the twelve countries bordering the ancient *cen-tamil* land)[60]

4. *Vaḍa-col* — (literally northern words). Loan-words in Sanskritic and Prakritic forms.

The following are instances of *vaḍa-col* borrowed in tamil in their prakritic form.

59. It includes homonyms and synonyms (*Tolkāppiyam,* Col. 399).

60. Tolkāppiyam, col. 400. The following words are given by the commentators as examples of *Ticai-c-col.*

பெற்றம்	peṟṟam (cow)—Teṉ-pāṇḍi-nāḍu
தள்ளை	taḷḷai (mother)—Kuṭṭa-nāḍu
ஞெள்ளை	ñeḷḷai (dog)— do.
அச்சன்	accaṉ (father)—Kuḍa-nāḍu
கையர்	kaiyar (cheats)—Kaṟkā-nāḍu
எலுவன்	eluvaṉ (man-friend)—Cīta-nāḍu
இகுளை	ihuḷai (woman's confidante)—do.
தந்துவை	tanduvai (mother's brother's wife)—do.
ஞமலி	ñamali (dog)—Pūḷi-nāḍu
பாழி	pāḷi (pool)—do.
செறு	ceṟu (field)—Aruvā-nāḍu
கேணி	kēṇi (pool)—do.
குட்டை	kuṭṭai (kuṟuṇi-a measure)—Aruvā—vaḍatalai-nāḍu.

	Tamil	Prakrit	Sanskrit
அத்தாணி	*attāṇi*	*attāṇi*	*āsthāna*
ஆணை	*āṇai*	*āṇā*	*ājñā*
அய்யன்	*ayyaṉ*	*ayya*	*ārya*
உய்யானம்	*uyyāṉam*	*uyyāna*	*udyāna*
கண்ணன்	*kaṇṇaṉ*	*kaṇha*	*kṛṣṇa*
கப்பரை	*kapparai*	*khappara*	*karpara*
சவுக்கம்	*cavukkam*	*caukka*	*catuṣka*
சாவகன்	*cāvakaṉ*	*śāvaka*	*śrāvaka*
சீயம்	*cīyam*	*sīha*	*siṃha*
சிப்பி	*cippi*	*śippī*	*śukti*
சுங்கம்	*cuṅgam*	*suṅka*	*śulka*
சுண்ணம்	*cuṇṇam*	*cuṇṇa*	*cūrṇa*
சுன்னம்	*cuṉṉam*	*sunna*	*śūnya*
தாதி	*tādi*	*dhati*	*dhātrī*
நக்கன்	*nakkaṉ*	*nakka*	*nagna*
நிக்கந்தன்	*nikkandaṉ*	*niggantha*	*nirgrantha*
நிச்சம்	*niccam*	*niccam*	*nitya*
படிகம்	*paḍikam*	*paḍiggaha*	*prati-graha*
படிமை	*paḍimai*	*padimā*	*pratimā*
பந்தி	*pandi*	*panti*	*paṅkti*
பயணம்	*payaṇam*	*payaṇa*	*prayāṇa*
பல்லக்கு	*pallakku*	*pallaṅka*	*paryaṅka*
பளிங்கு	*paḷiṅgu*	*phalika*	*sphaṭika*
பாகதம்	*pākatam*	*pākata*	*prākṛta*
புடவி	*puḍavi*	*puḍhavi*	*pṛthvī*
மச்சம்	*maccam*	*maccham*	*matsya*
முத்தி	*mutti*	*mutti*	*mukti*
மோனம்	*mōṉam*	*mōna*	*mauna*
வட்டி	*vaṭṭi*	*vaṭṭi*	*vṛddhi*
வண்ணம்	*vaṇṇam*	*vaṇṇa*	*varṇa*
வதம்	*vatam*	*vatam*	*vrata*

The vocabulary of the colloquial language ss replete with pleonasms, reduplications and expressions pertaining to diverse arts and occupations.

1. PLEONASMS

(a) The following are instances of pleonasms in which a literary word is coupled with its popular equivalent.

அரைநாண் கயிறு	*arai-nāṉ-kayiṟu* > *ara-nā-k-kayaṟu*
சூறாவளிக் காற்று	*cūṟā-vaḷi-k-kāṟṟu* > *cūṟa-vaḷi-k-kāttu*
சகட வண்டி	*cakaḍa-vaṇḍi* > *cakkaḍā-vaṇḍi*
பழுதைக்கயிறு	*paḻutai-k-kayiṟu* > *paḻutai-k-kayaṟu*
பேழைப் பெட்டி	*pēḻai-p-peṭṭi* > *pōḻa-p-poṭṭi*
புயல் காற்று	*puyal-kāṟṟu* > *pusal-kāttu*
வெட்டரிவாள்	*veṭṭ-arivāḷ* > *veṭṭ-aruvāḷ*

(b) In the following pleonasms an indigenous word is yoked to an alien word.

naḍu (Tamil) — *matti* (madhya, Skt.) — *naḍu-matti* நடு மத்தி
naḍu (Tamil) — *mayyam* (madhya, Skt.)—*naḍu-mayyam* நடு மய்யம்
gate (Eng.) — *vāsal* (Tamil) — *kēṭṭu-vāsal* கேட்டு வாசல்
shop (Eng.) — *kaḍai* (Tamil) — *cāppu-k-kādai* சாப்புக்கடை
civappu (Tamil) — *red* (Eng.) — *civappu-reṭṭu* சிவப்பு ரெட்டு
kaḍai (Tamil) —*bāzār* (Persian) — *kaḍai-basār* கடை பசார்

2. REDUPLICATIONS

(a) Rhyming reduplication.

vāṭṭa-cāṭṭam	வாட்ட சாட்டம்
vambu-tumbu	வம்பு தும்பு
koñja-nañjam	கொஞ்ச நஞ்சம்
asaṭṭu-p-pisaṭṭu	அசட்டுப் பிசட்டு
pōkkiri-cākkiri	போக்கிரி சாக்கிரி
narukku-p-pirukku	நருக்குப்பிருக்கு
pākki-cākki	பாக்கி சாக்கி
caṭṭu-p-piṭṭu	சட்டுப்பிட்டு
cāṭṭu-māṭṭu	சாட்டு மாட்டு
cāla-mālam	சால மாலம்

cāḍai-māḍai	சாடை மாடை
taṭṭu-muṭṭu	தட்டு முட்டு
nīkku-p-pōkku	நீக்குப்போக்கு
cākku-p-pōkku	சாக்குப்போக்கு
kaṭṭu-muṭṭu	கட்டு முட்டு

(b) Stylistic or rhetorical reduplication.

kaṉṉ-aṅ-garēr	கன்னங்கரேர்
cekka-c-cevēr	செக்கச்செவேர்
paccai-p-pasēr	பச்சைப்பசேர்
veḷḷai-veḷēr	வெள்ளை வெளேர்
ciṉṉam-ciṟu	சின்னம் சிறு
cappu-c-cavaṟu	சப்புச்சவறு
taṉṉam-taṉi	தன்னம் தனி
puttam-pudu	புத்தம் புது
paṭṭa-p-pahal	பட்டப்பகல்
veṭṭai-veḷi	வெட்டை வெளி
naṭṭai-naḍu	நட்டை நடு (நட்டை நடுப்பெற)
nahai-naṭṭu	நகை நட்டு
poṭṭu-p-poḍi	பொட்டுப்பொடி
taṭṭu-t-taḍai	தட்டுத்தடை

(3) Expressions pertaining to arts and occupations.[61]

ஏழாம் பொருத்தம்	*ēḻām-poruttam* (Astrology) —incompatability of temperament.
கம்பி நீட்டல்	*kambi-nīṭṭal* (Goldsmith's art) —to steal away.
கட்டு அவிழ்த்தல்	*kaṭṭu-aviḻttal*[62] (Medical treatment) —to disclose one's real state of affairs.
காது குத்தல்	*kādu kuttal* (Goldsmith's art). —to beguile.

61. The particular art or occupation is enclosed in brackets.

62. எல்லாம் மூன்றுங்கட்டவிழ்த்தால் தெரியும்.

காக்காய் பிடித்தல்	*kākkāy-piḍittal* (Bird-catching) —to coax by word or deed.
குல்லாப்போடுதல்	*kullā-p-pōḍutal*[63] (Dressing) —to cajole.
சரடு விடுதல்	*caraḍu-viḍutal* (Goldsmith's art) —to concoct and circulate a story.
சாயம் வெளுத்தல்	*cāyam—veḷuttal* (Dyeing) —to appear in true colours.
பதம் பார்த்தல்	*padam-pārttal* (Cooking) —to test.
பூசி மழுப்பல்	*pūsi-maḻuppal* (Painting) —to explain away.
பித்தலாட்டம் செய்தல்	*pittalāṭṭam-ceydal*[64] (Alchemy) —to cheat.
மல்லாடல்	*mallāḍal*[65] (Wrestling) —to bandy words.
மன்றாடல்	*maṉṉāḍal* > *maṉṟāḍal* (Pleading) —to make a persistent request.

The vocabulary of the colloquial language comprises, besides Sanskrit derivatives, words drawn from cognate languages (Telugu, Kanarese, Malayalam), Classical languages (Persian, Arabic), North-Indian languages (Marathi, Hindustani) and modern European languages (Portuguese, Dutch, French, English), a classification of which is given below.[66]

1. ORNAMENTS

அட்டிகை	*aṭṭikai* < K. *aḍḍike*
கொலுசு	*kolusu* < T. *golusu*

63. This expression probably owes its origin to the practice of wearing a head-dress to please the Muslims when they were the rulers of this land.

64. Pittalāṭṭam (probably pittala+hāṭaka)—Deception, fraud as in passing brass for gold. (T. L.)

65. "கல்லாடம் படித்தவனோடு மல்லாடாதே"

66. The classified list is not exhaustive but only illustrative.

சிமிக்கி	*cimikki* < H. *camkī*
தாயத்து	*tāyattu* < A. corruption of *ta'wīdh ?*
தோடா	*tōḍā* < H. *tōṛā*
பாட்லா	*pāṭlā* < Mhr. *pāṭalī*
பாசி பந்து	*pāsi-pandu* < P. *bāzū-band*
பில்லாக்கு	*pillākku* < Tur. *bulāq, bulāk*
நத்து	*nattu* < H. *nath*
பேசரி	*pēsari* < H. *bēsar*
நகாசு	*nahāsu* < A. *naqsh*
ராக்கடி	*rākkaḍi* < H. *rākhṛi*
லோலக்கு	*lōlakku* < H. *lōlak*
மெடல்	*meḍal* < E. *medal*

2. APPAREL

உருமால்	*urumāl* < P. *rūmāl*
கதர்	*kadar* < H. *khudrā* = rough
குடித்துணி	*kuḍittuṇi* < P. *kurta*
கமிசு	*kamisu* < A. *qamīṣ*
குல்லா	*kullā* < P. *kulāh*
சொக்காய்	*cokkāy* < T. *tcokkā*
சரிகை	*carihai* < P. *zarī*
சகலாத்து	*cahalāttu* < P. *saqallāt, saqalāt*
சாக்கட்டு	*cākkaṭṭu* < E. *jacket*
சாரி	*cāri* < S. *sārī*
சால்வை	*cālvai* < P. *shāl*
சிராய்	*cirāy* < A. *shara'ī*
டிராயர்	*ḍirāyar* < E. *drawers*
டோரியா	*ḍōriyā* < H. *ḍōriyā*
தாவணி	*tāvaṇi* < P. *dāmanī*
துப்பட்டா	*tuppaṭṭā* < H. *dū-paṭṭa*
தோத்தி	*tōtti* < H. *dhōtī*
துவாலை	*tuvālai* < Port. *toalha*

தொப்பி	*toppi* < H. *tōpī*
நேரியல்	*nēriyal* < M. *nēriyal*
பாகை	*pāhai* < H. *pāg*
பாடி	*pāḍi* < E. *bodice*
புட்டா	*puṭṭā* < H. *būṭā*
நாடா	*nāḍā* < H. *nālā* (P. *nawār, nuwār*)
நிசார்	*nisār* < A. *izār*
மகமல்	*mahamal* < A. *makhmal*
மல்	*mal* < P. *malmal*
முண்டாசு	*muṇḍāsu* < H. *mūṇḍ* + ?
லங்கோடு	*langōḍu* < H. *laṅgōṭī*
ஜிப்பா	*jippā* < A. *jubba*
ஜோடு	*jōḍu* < H. *jōṛ*
லுங்கி	*luṅgi* < P. *luṅgī*
சூட்டு	*cūṭṭu* < E. *suit*
சர்ட்டு	*carṭṭu* < E. *shirt*
கோட்டு	*kōṭṭu* < E. *coat*
காலர்	*kālar* < E. *collar*
டை	*ṭai* < E. *tie*
பனியன்	*paṉiyaṉ* < A. *bunyān*
பாக்கெட்	*pākkeṭṭu* < E. *pocket*
பித்தான்	*pittāṉ* < E. *button*[67]
பிளானல்	*piḷāṉal* < E. *flannel*
பிலுட்டு	*piluṭṭu* < E. *belt*
பூடுசு	*pūḍusu* < E. *boots*
சப்பாத்து	*cappāttu* < Port. *sapato*

3. CONFECTION AND CONDIMENTS

அல்வா	*alvā* < A. *ḥalwā'*
காராப்பூந்தி	*kārā-p-pūndi* < Ta. *kāram* + H. *būndī*

67. பொத்தான் pottāṉ, a variant of pittāṉ is probably a corruption of the Portuguese botão.

கிச்சடி	*kiccaḍi* < H. *khichṛī*
கீர்	*kīr* < H. *khīr*
குல்கந்து	*kulkandu* < *gul-qand* (P. *gul* + A. *qand*)
கேசரி	*kēsari* < H. *kēśarī*
கோவா	*kōvā* < H. *kho'ā*
கொச்சு	*koccu* < H. *kaccā*
சப்பாத்தி	*cappātti* < *P. capātī*
சட்னி	*caṭṉi* < *caṭnī*
சாம்பார்	*cāmbār* < Mhr. *sāmbhār*
லட்டு	*laṭṭu* < H. *laḍḍū*
சிலேபி	*cilēbi* < A. *ẓalābiyya*
சொஜ்ஜி	*cojji* < *sūjī*
சேமியா	*cēmiyā* < Mhr. *sevayā*, H. *sewaīn*
கோசும்பரி	*kōsumbari* < Mhr. *kōśimbarī*
டாங்கர்	*ṭāṅgar* < Mhr. *daṁgar*
பட்டாணி	*paṭṭāṇi* < Mhr. *puṭānā*
பக்கோடா	*pakkōḍā* < H. *pakōṛā*
பஜ்ஜி	*pajji* < H. *bhūjya*
பருப்பி	*paruppi* < P. *barfī*
பாதாம்	*pādām* < P. *bādām*
பாத்து	*pāttu* < Mhr. *bhāta*
பூரி	*pūri* < H. *pūrī*
பூந்தி	*pūndi* < H. *būndī*
புலாவ்	*pulāv* < P. *pulāo*
பேணி	*pēṇi* < H. *phēṇi*
பேடா	*pēḍā* < H. *pēṛā*
மசாலா	*masālā* < A. *maṣāliḥ*
மிட்டாய்	*miṭṭāy* < H. *mīṭhā*
முரப்பா	*murappā* < A. *murabba*
மைசூர்பாகு	*maisūr-pāhu* > probably A. *miṣrī* + Skt. *pāk.*
மைதா	*maidā* < P. *mayda*
ரவை	*ravai* < H. *ravā*

தோசை	*tōsai* < Port. *doce*
ரொட்டி	*roṭṭi* < H. *rōṭī*
ஐஸ்கிரீம்	*aiskirīm* < E. *ice-cream*
கேக்கு	*kēkku* < E. *cake*
கருவாடு	*karuvāḍu* < Port. *cravado?*
சாக்கலட்டு	*cākkalaṭṭu* < E. *chocolat*
பப்பிரமெண்டு	*pappirameṇḍu* < E. *pepper-mint*
பிசுக்கொத்து	*pisukkottu* < E. *biscuit*
டோஸ்டு	*tōsṭṭu* < E. *toast*

4. FRUITS AND DRINKS

அன்னாசி	*aṉṉāsi* < Port. *ananās* (Braz. *nanas*)
ஆரஞ்சி	*ārañji* < E. *orange*
ஆப்பிள்	*āppiḷ* < *E. apple*
ஆல்பக்கடா	*ālpakkaḍā* < P. *ālū-bukhāra*
எலுமிச்சை	*elumiccai*[68] < A. *laymūn* + P. *tursh*
கொய்யா	*koyyā* < Braz. *guayaba*, Port. *goiaba*
சப்போட்டா	*cappōṭṭā* < E. *sapodilla*
சீத்தாப்பழம்	*cīttā-p-paḷam* < H. *sitāphal*
தம்பட்டம்	*tambaṭṭam* < E. *tomato*
பப்பாளி	*pappāḷi* < Malay. *papaya*
பறங்கி (ப்பழம்)	*paṟaṅgi-(p-paḷam)*[69] < P. *frangī* + *Ta.*
பம்பளிமாசு	*pambaḷimāsu* < Malay. *pampelmoose*
பேரிக்காய்	*pēri-k-kāy* < E. *pear* + *Ta.*
மங்குஸ்தான்	*maṅgustāṉ* < Malay. *maṅgistan*
ஒயின்	*oyiṉ* < E. *wine*
ஓவல்	*ōval* < E. *ovaltine*

68. P | tursh—sour. / turush — Probably i the prothetic prefix of lumiccai, (corruption of laymūn tursh) has changed e. lumiccai>ilumiccai>elumiccai.

69. *Farangi* or *firangi* is a Persian corruption of *frank*. In Persian Firangistan' is the name for Europe.—See Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages, pp. 17-18.

கலர்	*kalar* < E. *colour*
கோலா	*kōlā* < H. *kēlā*
காப்பி	*kāppi* < E. *coffee*
கொக்கோ	*kokkō* < E. *cocoa*
சர்பத்து	*carpattu* < A. *sharbat*
சாயா	*cāyā* < Chin. *tshā*. (P. *cāy*)
சாலத்து	*cālattu* < E. *salad* (*fruit-salad*)
சோடா	*cōḍā* < E. *soda*
பிராந்தி	*pirāndi* < E. *brandy*
தேநீர்	*tē-nīr* < Malay. *tē* + *Ta*. (*Chin. t'e*)
லெமனெட்டு	*lemaṉeṭṭu* < E. *lemonade*

5. ARCHITECTURE

ஆர்ச்சு	*ārccu* < E. *arch*
கமான்	*kamāṉ* < P. *kamān*
கர்டர்	*karḍar* < E. *girder*
கக்கூசு	*kakkūsu* < Dut. *kakhhuis*
குசினி	*kusiṉi* < Port. *cozinha* (F. *cuisine*)
காம்பரா	*kāmbarā* < E. *camera*
காம்பவுண்டு	*kāmbavuṇḍu* < E. *compound*
காடியானா	*kāḍiyāṉā* < H. *gāṛī* + P. *khāna*
கேட்டு	*kēṭṭu* < E. *gate*
கிராதி	*kirādi* < Port. *grade*
கோரி	*kōri* < P. *gōr*
சன்னல்	*caṉṉal* < Port. *janela*
செட்டு	*ceṭṭu* < E. *shed*
பங்களா	*paṅgaḷā* < E. *bangalow*
பட்டகசாலை	*paṭṭakasālai* < K. *paṭaśāle*
பாலம்	*pālam* < H. *pāl* (P. *pul*)
தார்சா	*tārsā* < E. *terrace?*
மால்	*māl* < A. *maḥall*
வராந்தா	*varāndā* < Port. *veranda* cf. P. *bar-āmada*

6. FURNITURE

அலமாரு	*alamāru* < Port. *almario, armārio*
ஈச்சேர்	*īccēr* < E. *easy-chair*
குரிச்சி	*kuricci* < A. *kursī*
சோபா	*sōpā* < E. *sofa* (A. *ṣuffāḥ*)
டீப்பாய்	*ṭīppāy* < E. *teapoy* (*P. sih+pāe*)
பங்கா	*paṅgā* < H. *phaṅkā*
பீரோல்	*pīrōl* < E. *bureau*
பெஞ்சி	*peñji* < E. *bench*
மேசை	*mēsai* < Port. *mesa*, P. *mez*, *mīz*

7. UTENSILS

குண்டான்	*kuṇḍāṉ* < Mhr. *guṇḍā*
கெண்டி	*keṇḍi* < Mhr. *giṇḍī*
கோப்பை	*kōppai* < E. *cup*
கூசா கூஜா	*kūsā* *kūjā* } < A. *kūz*
தமிளர்	*tamiḷar* < E. *tumbler*
பீங்கான்	*pīṅgāṉ* < Chin. *pēn+ngān*
லோட்டா	*lōṭṭā* < H. *lōṭā*
அண்டா	*aṇḍā* < H. *haṇḍā*
தேக்கிசா	*tēkkisā* < P. *dēgca*
கெட்டில்	*keṭṭil* < E. *kettle*
வாளி	*vāḷi* < H. *bāltī*

8. SUNDRY ARTICLES

அரிக்கன்	*arikkaṉ* < E. *hurricane lamp*
ஆரொட்டி	*āroṭṭi* < E. *arrowroot*
ஆக்கர்	*ākkar* < E. *auger*
இசுக்கோல்	*isukkōl* < E. *screw*
இஞ்சின்	*iñjiṉ* < E. *engine*
ஊக்கு	*ūkku* < E. *hook*

கப்பி	*kappi* < A. *quabb*
குப்பி	*kuppi* < H. *kuppī*
கித்தான்	*kittāṉ* < A. *kattān*
கீல்(கீர்)	*kīl* < A. *qīr* (commonly *kīl-eṇṇai*)
கோலி	*kōli* < P. *gōlī*, *gūlī*
கொப்பரை	*kopparai* < H. *khoprā*
சமுக்காளம்	*camukkāḷam* < H. *jamkūṛā*
சாக்கு	*cākku* < Dut. *zak*
சாவி	*cāvi* < Port. *chave*=*key*
சாடி	*cāḍi* < Port. *jarra*
சிமிட்டி	*cimiṭṭi* < E. *cement*
சிலேட்டு	*cilēṭṭu* < E. *slate*
டப்பா	*ṭappā* < H. *ḍabba*
டப்பி	*ṭappi* < H. *ḍibbī*, *ḍabbī*
படுதா	*paḍutā* < P. *parda*
பம்பு	*pambu* < E. *pump*
பல்பு	*palbu* < E. *bulb*
பாட்டில்	*pāṭṭil* < E. *bottle*[70]
பிக்காசு	*pikkāsu* < E. *pick-axe*
பீப்பாய்	*pīppāy* < Port. *pipa*
பொனல்	*poṉal* < E. *funnel*
மிசியன்	*misiyaṉ* < E. *machine*
மில்	*mil* < E. *mill*
மீட்டர்	*mīṭṭar* < E. *meter*
நட்டு	*naṭṭu* < E. *nut*
லஸ்தர்	*lastar* < E. *cluster*
லாந்தர்	*lāndal* < E. *lantern*[71]
ராட்டு	*rāṭṭu* < H. *rahat*

70. போத்தல் pōttal, a variant of pāṭṭil, is probably derived from the Dutch bottel.

71. ராந்தல் rāntal, is a variant of lāntal.

வாச்சு	*vāccu* < E. *watch*
ஜாக்கி	*jākki* < E. *jack* (*instrument*)

9. LUXURIES

அம்பர்	*ambar* < A. *ʻanbar*
அத்தர்	*attar* < A. *ʻiṭr*
அபின்	*apiṉ* < P. *apyūn*
உக்கா	*ukkā* < A. *ḥuqqa*
ஊது பத்தி	*ūdu patti* < A. *ʻūd*+H. *battī*
கசகசா	*kasakasā* < P. *khashkhāsh*
கஞ்சா	*kañjā* < H. *gānjhā*
சோப்பு	*cōppu* < E. *soap*
சவ்வாது	*cavvādu* < A. *zabād*
சிகரட்டு	*cikaraṭṭu* < E. *cigarette*
சாம்பிராணி	*cāmbirāṇi* < Malay. *sāmrānī*
சாலாமிசிரி	*cālāmisiri* < A. *thaʻlabī* + *Miṣrī*
ரவேஸ்	*ravēs* < P. *rawish*
ரேக்கு	*rēkku* < P. *bārīk*

10. CONVEYANCE

ஏரோப்ளேன்	*ērōplēṉ* < E. *aeroplane*
கார்	*kār* < E. *car*
கோச்சு	*kōccu* < E. *coach*
சட்கா ஜட்கா	*caṭkā* *jaṭkā* < H. *jhaṭkā*
சப்பரம்	*capparam* < H. *chappar*
சாராட்டு	*cārāṭṭu* < E. *chariot*
சைக்கிள்	*caikkiḷ* < E. *cycle*=*bi-cycle*
டக்கு	*ṭakku* < E. *truck*
டிராம்	*ṭirām* < E. *tram*=*tram-car*
டோலி	*ḍōli* < H. *dōlī*
மேனா	*mēṉā* < P. *miyāna*, *mēna*

பஸ்	*bas* < E. *bus* = *omnibus*
பீட்டன்	*pīṭṭaṉ* < E. *phaeton*
மோட்டார்	*mōṭṭār* < E. *motor*
லாரி	*lāri* < E. *lorry*
ரயில்	*rayil* < E. *rail* = *railway train*
ரிக்ஷா	*rikṣā* < Jap. *jinrikṣa*
ரேக்கிளா	*rēkkiḷā* < H. *rahkalā*

11. COMMUNICATION

இன்சூர்	*iṉsūr* < E. *insurance*
கடுதாசி	*kaḍutāsi* < A. *qarṭ̤ās*
கவர்	*kavar* < E. *cover*
கார்டு	*kārḍu* < E. *card*
தபால்	*tapāl* < H. *ṭappāl*
போஸ்டாபீசு	*pōst-āpīsu* < E. *post-office*
மணியாடர்	*maṇiyāḍar* < E. *money-order*
ரிஜிஸ்தர்	*rijistar* < E. *register* = *registered letter*
லக்கோடா	*lakkōḍā* < H. *lakhōṭā*
லேபில்	*lēbil* < E. *label*
லெட்டர்	*leṭṭar* < E. *letter*

12. BUSINESS

அட்வான்சு	*advāṉsu* < E. *advance*
அட்டவணை	*aṭṭavaṇai* < Mhr. *athavaṇa*
ஆண்டிமாண்டு	*āṇḍimāṇḍu* < E. *on demand*
உண்டியல்	*uṇḍiyal* < H. *hunḍī*
கசர்	*kasar* < A. *qaṣr* or *kasr*
கசாப்பு	*kasāppu* < A. *qaṣṣāb*
கரார்	*karār* < A. *qarār*
கண்டிராக்கட்டு	*kaṇḍirākkaṭṭu* < E. *contract*

கிட்டங்கி	*kiṭṭaṅgi* < Malay. *gaḍong*[72]
குசிலி	*kusili* < A. *ghuzlī*
சந்தா	*candā* < P. *candā*
சவுக்கார்	*cavukkār* < H. *sāhūkār*
சிராப்பு	*cirāppu* < A. *ṣarrāf*
சிலாவணி	*cilāvaṇi* < H. *calānā*
சிட்டை	*ciṭṭai* < H. *citthā*
டெண்டர்	*ṭeṇḍar* < E. *tender*
டிப்பாசிட்டு	*ṭippāsiṭṭu* < E. *deposit*
தராசு	*tarāsu* < P. *tarāzū*
தினுசு	*tiṉusu* < *A. jins*
தினுசுவாரி	*tiṉusuvāri* < A. *jins* + P. *wār*
துபாஷ்	*tubāṣ* < H. *dobāshī*
பட்டியல்	*paṭṭiyal* < H. *paṭṭi*
பண்டு	*paṇḍu* < E. *fund*
பசார்	*pasār* < P. *bāzār*
மகமை	*mahamai* < A. *muhimm*
மேஸ்திரி	*mēstiri* < Port. *mestre*[73]
மார்க்கட்டு	*mārkkaṭṭu* < E. *market*
மௌசு	*mausu* < A. *mawj*
நிரக்கு	*nirakku* < P. *nīrkh*, *narkh*
ரகம்	*raham* < A. *raqm*
வட்டம்	*vaṭṭam* < H. *baṭṭā*
வங்கி	*vaṅgi* < E. *bank*
லாலா	*lālā* < H. *lālā*
லேவாதேவி	*lēvādēvi* < H. *lēnā-dēnā*

72. The Malay word gaḍong is a corruption of the Tamil kiḍaṅgu. The expression roṭṭi-k-kiḍaṅgu is still in common use in the southern districts. See Hobson-Jobson.

73. Mēstiri generally denotes a tailor and sometimet a superintendent as in road-mēstiri.

13. WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

அந்தர்	*andar* < E. *hundred weight*
டன்	*ṭaṉ* < E. *ton*
கண்டி	*kaṇḍi* < Mhr. *khaṇḍil*
காரட்டு	*kāraṭṭu* < A. *qirrāt*
தோலா	*tōlā* < H. *tōla*
ராத்தல்	*rāttal* < A. *raṭḷ*
இஞ்சு	*iñju* < E. *inch*
கெசம்	*kesam* < P. *gaz*
பர்லாங்கு	*parlāṅgu* < E. *furlong*
மைல்	*mail* < E. *mile*
ஏக்கர்	*ēkkar* < E. *acre*
செண்டு	*ceṇḍu* < E. *cent*
டசன்	*ḍasaṉ* < E. *dozen*
தஸ்தா	*tastā* < P. *dasta*
கொயர்	*koyar* < E. *quire*
ரீம்	*rīm* < E. *ream* (A. *rizma*)

14. CURRENCY

அணா	*aṇā* < H. *āna*
தம்பிடி	*tambiḍi* < H. *damṛī*
செக்கு	*cekku* < E. *cheque*
பவன்	*pavaṉ* < E. *pound*
பைசா	*paisā* < H. *paysā*

15. ADMINISTRATION

(*a*) *Revenue*

அசல்	*asal* < A. *aṣl*
அத்து	*attu* < A. *ḥadd*
அம்பாரம்	*ambāram* < P. *anbār*
அமுல்	*amul* < A. *ʻamal*
அமானத்து	*amāṉattu* < A. *amānat*

அயன்	*ayaṉ* < A. *‘ayn*
அர்ஜி	*arji* < P. *‘arẓī*, A. *‘arẓ*
ஆகேர்	*āhēr* < A. *āk͟hir*
ஆசாமி	*āsāmi* < A. *asāmī*
ஆப்காரி	*ābkāri* < P. *āb-kārī*
ஆசில்	*āsil* < A. *ḥāṣil*
இனாம்	*iṉām* < A. *in‘ām*
இருசால்	*irusāl* < A. *irsāl*
உசூர்	*usūr* < A. *ḥuzūr*
ஐமாசு	*aimāsu* < P. *azmāyis͟h*
ஐவேசு	*aivēsu* < A. *‘iwaẓ*
கம்மி	*kammi* < P. *kamī*
கசனா	*kasaṉā* < A. *k͟hizāna*
கவுல்	*kavul* < A. *qawl*
கலெக்டர்	*kalecṭar* < E. *collector*
காயம்	*kāyam* < A. *qā’im*
கார்வார்	*kārvār* < P. *kāru-bār*
கானுகோ	*kāṉugō* < P. *qānūn-gō*
கிபாயத்து	*kibāyattu* < A. *kifāyat*
கிஸ்து	*kistu* < A. *qist*
குமாஸ்தா	*kumāstā* < P. *gumās͟hta*
கேது	*kēdu* < H. *khēt*
கைது	*kaidu* < A. *qayd*
கொத்துவால்	*kottuvāl* < P. *kotwāl*
கோஸ்பாரா	*kōspārā* < P. *gōs͟hwāra*
சடுதி	*caḍuti* < H. *jhaṛti*
சரகம்	*carakam*[74] < P. *sar* + A. *ḥadd*

74. Probably the original form carahattu was changed into carakam owing to the mistaken notion that attu was an inflectional increment of the noun terminating in am. In Tamil, nouns having the termination am usually take the inflectional increment attu in declension. (See Caldwell's Comparative Grammar, p. 265).

சரத்து	*carattu* < A. *sharṭ*
சராசரி	*carāsari* < P. *sarāsarī*
சிரஸ்தார்	*cirastār* < P. *sarrishtadār*
செலான்	*celāṉ* < H. *calān*
செட்டில்மெண்டு	*ceṭṭilmeṇḍu* < E. *settlement*
டேரா	*ḍērā* < H. *dērā*
டேமணி	*ḍēmaṇi* < E. *ready money*
தணிக்கை	*taṉikkai* < A. *taniqya*
தபசில்	*tapasil* < A. *tafṣīl*
தஸ்தி	*tasti* < A. *taṣadduq*
தர்க்காஸ்து	*tarkkāstu* < P. *darkhāst*
தாக்கீது	*tākkīdu* < A. *ta'kīd*
தாக்கல்	*tākkal* < A. *dākhil*
தாசில்	*tāsil* < A. *taḥṣīl*
பசலி	*pasali* < A. *faṣlī*
பந்தோஸ்து	*pandōstu* < P. *band-o-bast*
பட்டா	*paṭṭā* < H. *paṭṭā*
பாக்கி	*pākki* < A. *bāqī*
பாவத்து	*pāvattu* < P. *bābat*
பிசானம்	*pisāṉam* <T. *pisānamu*
பினாமி	*piṉāmi* < P. *banāmī*
நகது	*nahadu* < A. *naqd*
நகல்	*nahal* < E. *naql*
நவுக்கர்	*navukkar* < P. *nawkar*
மசரா	*masarā* < A. *mazra‘*
மராமத்து	*marāmattu* < A. *marammat*
மாசூல்	*māsūl* < A. *maḥṣūl*
மாமூல்	*māmūl* < A. *ma‘mūl*
மிட்டா	*miṭṭhā* < H. *miṭṭhā* (A. *maqṭa‘*)
மிராசு	*mirāsu* < A. *mīrāth*
முகாம்	*muhām* < A. *mahāmm*
முச்சலிக்கா	*muccalikkā* < Tur. *muchalkā*

7

ரசீது	*rasīdu* < P. *rasīd*. E. *receipt*
ரயத்து	*rayattu* < A. *ra'iyat*
ரப்பட்டா	*rappaṭṭā* < E. *rough* + H. *paṭṭā*
ரொக்கம்	*rokkam* < A. *raqm*
வசூல்	*vasūl* < A. *waṣūl*
வசா	*vasā* < A. *waẓ'*
வாபீசு	*vāpīsu* < P. *wāpas*
வாரீசு	*vārīsu* < A. *wārith*
வாயிதா	*vāyidā* < A. *wa'da*
வாரண்டு	*vāraṇḍu* < E. *warrant*
ஜப்தி	*japti* <A. *ẓabṭī*
ஜமீன்	*jamīṉ* < P. zamīn
ஜவாப்	*javāb* < A. *jawāb*
ஜமாபந்தி	*jamābandi* < A. *jam'* + P. *bandī*
ஜாரி	*jāri* < A. *jārī*
ஜாமீன்	*jāmīṉ* < A. *ẓāmin*
ஜாஸ்தி	*jāsti* < A. *ẓā'id*
ஷரா	*ṣarā* < A. *shar'*

(b) JUDICIAL

அமினா	*amiṉā* < A. *amīn*
அசெசர்	*asesar* < E. *assessor*
அவிடவிட்டு	*aviḍaviṭṭu* < E. *affidavit*
அப்பீல்	*appīl* < E. *appeal*
ஆசர்	*āsar* < A. *ḥāẓir*
இன்சால்மெண்டு	*iṉsālmeṇḍu* < E. *insolvent*
இஸ்தியார்	*istiyār* < A. *ishtihār*
ஈரங்கி	*īraṅgi* < E. *hearing*
ஏலம்	*ēlam* < Port. *leilāo*
உயில்	*uyil* < E. *will*
கச்சேரி	*kaccēri* < H. *kacahrī*
கிரிமினல்	*kirimiṉal* < E. *criminal*

கேடி	*kēḍi* < E. *k. d.* = known depredator
கேசு	*kēsu* < E. *case*
கைதி	*kaidi* = A. *qaydī*
கொட்டடி	*koṭṭaḍi* > H. *koṭhṛī*
கோர்ட்டு	*kōrṭṭu* < E. *court*
சம்மன்	*cammaṉ* < E. *summons*
சிவில்	*cīvil* < E. *civil*
டபேதார்	*ḍābēdār* < P. *daftardār*
டலாயத்து	*ḍalāyattu* < H. *ḍhalīt*
டவாலி	*ṭavāli* <P. *duwālī*
டிக்கிரி	*ṭikkiri* < E. *decree*
தகரார்	*taharār* < A. *takrār*
தகதா	*tahatā* < A. *taqāẓā*
தண்டோரா	*taṇḍōrā* < H. *dhaṇḍhōrā*
தமுக்கு	*tamukku* < H. *dhamk*
தரப்பு	*tarappu* < A. *t̤araf*
தஸ்தாவேசு	*tastāvesu* < P. *dast-āvēz*
தாவா	*tāvā* < A. *da'wa*
திவால்	*tivāl* < H. *diwālā*
பஞ்சாயத்து	*pañjāyattu* < H. *pancāyat*
பிராது	*pirādu* < P. *faryād*
புகார்	*puhār* < H. *pukār*
புரோநோட்டு	*purō-nōṭṭu* < E. *pro-note*=Promissory note
பீசு	*pīsu* < E. *fees*
பெட்டிஷன்	*peṭṭiṣaṉ* < E. *petition*
பென்ஷன்	*peṉṣaṉ* < E. *pension*
பைசல்	*paisal* < A. *fayṣal*
நாசர்	*nāsar* < A. *nāz̤ir*
நோட்டீசு	*nōṭṭīsu* < E. *notice*
மவுண்டு	*mavuṇḍu* < E. *amount*
முனிசீப்பு	*muṉisīppu* < A. *munṣif*
மேசர்	*mēsar* < E. *major*

மேடோவர்	*mēḍōvar* < E. *made over*
மைனர்	*maiṉar* < E. *minor*
நம்பர் (வைத்தல்)	*nambar* (vaittal) < E. *number* + Ta. = filing a suit
ரத்து	*rattu* < A. *radd*
ராசி	*rāsi* < A. *rāẓī*
ரிக்காடு	*rikkāḍu* < E. *record*
ருசு	*rusu* < A. *rujū'*
ரூல்	*rūl* < E. *rule*
ரோக்கா	*rōkkā* < A. *ruq'a*
லாயர்	*lāyar* < E. *lawyer*
வக்காலத்து	*vakkālattu* < A. *wakālat*
வக்கீல்	*vakkīl* < A. *wakīl*
வில்லங்கம்	*villaṅgam* < Mhr. *vilaga*
ஜட்ஜ்	*jaḍj* < E. *judge*
ஜெயில்	*jeyil* < E. *jail*

(c) POLITICAL

ஆபீசு	*āpīsu* < E. *office*
இலாக்கா	*ilākkā* < A. *'ilāqa*
எலெக்ஷன்	*elecṣaṉ* < E. *election*
எஸ்டேட்டு	*estēṭṭu* < E. *estate*
ஏசெண்டு	*ēseṇḍu* < E. *agent*
ஓட்டு	*ōṭṭu* < E. *vote*
கஸ்பா	*kaspā* < A. *qaṣba*
கவனர்	*kavaṉar* < E. *governor*
காவந்து	*kāvandu* < P. *khāwand*
சர்க்கார்	*carkkār* < P. *sarkār*
சர்க்கிள்	*carkkiḷ* < E. *circle*
சன்னது	*caṉṉadu* < A. *sanad*
சம்பிரதி	*cambiradi* < T. *samprati*
சப்ரோட்டம்	*caprōṭṭam* < E. *sub. pro. temp.*

சாவடி	*cāvaḍi* < Mhr. *sāvaṭī*
சிப்பந்தி	*cippandi* < P. *sih-bandī*
சீல்	*cīl* < E. *seal*
சூப்பிரண்டு	*cūppiraṇḍu* < E. *superintendent*
செண்டா	*ceṇḍā* < H. *jhanḍā*
தர்பார்	*tarbār* < P. *darbār*
தாக்கீது	*tākkītu* < A. *ta'kīd*
தாலுகா	*tālukā* < A. *ta‘alluq*
திவான்	*tivāṉ* < P. *dīwān*
பகதூர்	*bahadūr* < H. *bahādur*
பட்வாடா	*paṭvāḍā* < H. *baṭwārā*
பாவட்டா	*pāvaṭṭā* < H. *bāwṭā*
பவுண்டு	*pavuṇḍu* < E. *pound*
பிதிவி	*pidivi* < A. *fidwī*
பிர்க்கா	*pirkkā* < A. *firqa*
பியூன்	*piyūṉ* < E. *peon*
பேட்டி	*pēṭṭi* < H. *bheṭī*
போலீசு	*pōlīsu* < E. *police*
வேவு	*vēvu* < Port. *vēu*
மசோதா	*masōdā* < A. *musawwada*
மாகாணம்	*māhāṇam* < A. *makān ?*
மாசர்	*māsar* < A. *maḥẓar*
மாப்பு	*māppu* < A. *mu‘āf*
மாஜி	*māji* < A. *māẓī*
மொகர்	*mohar* < P. *muhr*
மேஸ்திரட்டு	*mēstiraṭṭu* < E. *magistrate*
மொச்சி	*mocci* < H. *mochī*
முனிஷி	*muṉiṣi* < A. *munshī*
யாதாஸ்து	*yādāstu* < P. *yād-dāsht*
ரோந்து, லோந்து	*rōndu, lōndu* < P. *rawanda*
ஜில்லா	*jillā* < A. *zil‘a*
ரஜா	*rajā* < A. *riẓā'*, P. *riẓā*

16. STATIONERY

காகிதம்	*kāhidam* < P. *kāghidh*
கிளிப்பு	*kiḷippu* < E. *clip*
கோந்து	*kōndu* < H. *gōnd*
பென்சில்	*peṉsil* < E. *pencil*
பேப்பர்	*pēppar* < E. *paper*
பேனா	*pēṉā* < E. *pen*, Port. *pena*
பின்	*piṉ* < E. *pin*
பிளாட்டிங்கு	*piḷāṭṭiṅgu* < E. *blotting paper*
நிப்பு	*nippu* < E. *nib*
ஸ்டீல்	*sṭīl* < E. *steel nib*
ரப்பர்	*rappar* < E. *rubber*

17. ARMY

சிப்பாய்	*sippāy* < P. *sipāhī*
டங்கா	*daṅgā* < H. *ḍankā*
டானா, தானா	*ṭāṉā, tāṉā* < H. *ṭhānā*
துப்பாக்கி	*tuppākki* < P. *tupak*, Tur. *tōp*
துருப்பு	*turuppu* < E. *troop*
தோட்டா	*tōṭṭā* < H. *ṭōṭā*
சோட்டா	*cōṭṭā* < H. *sōnṭā*
பட்டாளம்	*paṭṭāḷam* < E. *battalion*
பாரா	*pārā* < P. *pahra*
பீரங்கி	*pīraṅgi* < P. *frangī, firangī*
அம்பாரி	*ambāri* < A. *'imārī*
ஏட்டு	*ēṭṭu* < E. *head constable*
மாவுத்தன்	*māvuttaṉ* < H. *mahāwat*
சர்தார்	*cardār* < P. *sardār*
சவாரி	*cavāri* < P. *suwārī*
சவுக்கு	*cavukku* < P. *cābuk*
சுபேதார்	*cubēdār* < P. *sūbadār*

சேணம்	*cēṇam* < P. *zīn*
ரிவால்வர்	*rivālvar* < E. *revolver*
ராவுத்தன்	*rāvuttaṉ* > H. *rāut*
லகான்	*lahāṉ* < P. *lagām*
லத்தி	*latti* < H. *laṭkī*
லாயம்	*lāyam* < A. *līm?*

18. GAMES AND PHYSICAL EXERCISE

சீட்டு	*cīṭṭu* < E. *chit* (H. *chiṭṭhi*)
ஆசு	*ācu* < F. *as*
ஆடுதன்	*āḍutaṉ* < E. *hearts*
இஸ்பேட்	*ispēṭ* < E. *spades*
கோட்டு	*kōṭṭu* < E. *court-card*
கிளாவர்	*kiḷāvar* < E. *clover*
சாக்கி (ஜாக்கி)	*cākki* < (*jākki*) < E. *jack*
டைமன்	*ḍaimaṉ* < E. *diamond*
துருப்பு	*turuppu* < E. *trump*
ஆக்கி	*ākki* < E. *hockey*
கிரிக்கெட்டு	*kirikkeṭṭu* < E. *cricket*
டென்னீஸ்	*teṉṉīs* < E. *tennis*
கசரத்து	*kasarattu* < A. *kasrat*
கவாத்து	*kavāttu* < A. *qawāyid*
தண்டால்	*taṇḍāl* < H. *ḍaṇḍ*
பல்டி	*balṭi* < H. *palatnā*
பஸ்கி	*baski* < P. *bāzū* ?
பஞ்சா	*pañjā* < P. *panc*
பயில்வான்	*bayilvāṉ* < P. *pahlawān*
வஸ்தாது	*vastādu* < P. *ustād*
ஜவான்	*javāṉ* < P. *jawān*

19. NAVIGATION

சுக்கான்	*cukkāṉ* < A. *sukkān*

நங்குரம்	*naṅguram* < P. *langar*
மாலுமி	*mālumi* < A. *muʿallim*

20. RELIGION

அல்லா	*allā* < A. *allāh*
குரான்	*kurāṉ* < A. *qurān*
மசூதி	*masūdi* < A. *masjid*
மகந்து	*mahandu* < H. *mahant*, *mahat*
முகம்மது	*muhammadu* < A. *muḥammad*
மொகரம்	*moharam* < A. *muḥarram*
நபி	*napi* < A. *nabī*
சேசு	*sēsu* < E. *Jesus*
கிறிஸ்து	*kiṟistu* < E. *christ*
கந்திரி	*kandiri* < H. *kandūrī*
சிலுவை	*ciluvai* < Syr. *sliba*
தைக்கா	*taikkā* < A. *takya*
தசரா	*tasarā* < H. *dasahrā*
பக்கிரி	*pakkiri* < A. *faqīr*
பாதிரி	*pādiri* < Port. *padre*
பைபிள்	*baibiḷ* < E. *bible*
பாப்பு	*pāppu* < Port. *papa*
பீர்	*pīr* < P. *pīr*
யூதர்	*yūdar* < A. *yahūd*

21. MUSIC

கஞ்சிரா	*kañjirā* < H. *khanjan*
சித்தார்	*sittār* < P. *sih-tār*
ஏகதார்	*ēhadār* < P. *ēk-tāra*
தம்பூர்	*tambūr* < P. *t̤anbūr*
டோலக்	*ḍōlak* < H. *dōlak*
தில்ருபா	*tilrūbā* < H. *dil-rūbā*
தாவுஷ்	*tāvuṣ* < H. *taush*

தபலா	*tapalā* < A. *t̤abla*
தவல்	*taval* < A. *t̤abl*
ஆர்மோனியம்	*ārmōṉiyam* < F. *harmonie*, E. *harmonium*
கர்னா	*karṉā* < P. *karranāy*
பியானா	*piyāṉā* < E. *piano*
ஜாலர்	*jālar* < H. *jhālarī*
பிட்டில்	*piṭṭil* < E. *fiddle*
புளூட்டு	*puḷūṭṭu* < E. *flute*
கமாஸ்	*kamās* < A. *k̲h̲umāsī*
சகானா	*sahāṉā* < H. *sāhanā*
தில்லானா	*tillāṉā* < P. *tarāna*
மாண்டு	*māṇḍu* < H. *māṇḍ*
லாவணி	*lāvaṇi* < Mhr. *lāvaṇi*

22. COLOURS

ஊதா	*ūdā* < H. *ūdā*
காக்கி	*kākki* < P. *khāki*
குசும்பா	*kusumbā* < H. *kusumbi*
ரோசு	*rōsu* < E. *rose*

23. MEDICINE

ஆஸ்பத்திரி	*āspattiri* < E. *hospital*
ஆப்பரேஷன்	*āpparēṣaṉ* < E. *operation*
கொயினா	*koyiṉā* < E. *quinine*
சீக்கு	*cīkku* < E. *sick*
தெரசர்	*terasar* < E. *dresser*
யூனானி	*yūṉāṉi* < A. *yūnānī*
டானிக்கு	*ṭāṉikku* < E. *tonic*
டாக்டர்	*ḍākṭar* > E. *doctor*
பெனயில்	*peṉayil* < E. *phenyl*

24. MISCELLANEOUS

(a) *Persian, Arabic and Hindustani Words*

அந்தஸ்து	*andastu* < P. *ham-dast*
அலாதி	*alādi* < A. '*alā-ḥida*
அலுக்கா	*alukkā* < A. *hilka*
இஸ்திரி	*istiri* < H. *istrī*, Port. *estirar*
உசார்	*usār* < E. *hushyār*
உடான்	*uḍāṉ* < H. *uṛāna*
உருட்டா	*uruṭṭā* < H. *ulṭā*
கலாய்	*kalāy* < A. *qal'ī*
கலாட்டா	*kalāṭṭā* < A. *ghilāt*
காயலா	*kāyalā* < A. *kāhil*
காப்ரா	*kāprā* < H. *ghabrī*
காலி	*kāli* < A. *khāli*
காவாலி	*kāvāli* < A. *qawwāl*
கிபாயத்து	*kipāyattu* < A. *kifāyat*
குஷால்	*kuṣāl* < P. *khush* + A. *ḥāl*
கோஷா	*kōṣā* < P. *gosha-nishīn*
குஷி	*kuṣi* < P. *khushī*
கெடி	*keḍi* < H. *gaṛh*
கோட்டா	*kōṭṭā* < P. *kōtāh*
கோஸ்மாஸ்	*kōsmās* < H. *gōl-māl*
சக்காத்து	*cakkāttu* < A. *zakāt*
சகலன்	*sahalaṉ*[75] < H. *sālā*
சதாய்	*catāy* < H. *satānā*
சல்லிசு	*sallisu* < A. *salīs*
சலாம்	*salām* < A. *salām*

75. In H. sālā denotes wife's brother. In Tamil sahalan is ordinarily used to denote wife's sister's husband.

சவால்	*cavāl* < A. *su'āl*
சபாஷ்	*cabāṣ* < P. *shād-bāsh*
சவுக்கை	*cavukkai* < H. *cauk*
சவுடால்	*cavuḍāl* < H. *jhawṛā*
சாப்பா	*cāppā* < A. *ṣāf*
சால்சாப்பு	*sālsāppu* < A. *su'āl-jawāb*
சாலக்கு	*cālakku* < P. *cālāk*
சாமான்	*cāmāṉ* < P. *sāmān*
சாடா	*cāḍā* < H. *sārā*
சாய்பு	*sāybu* < A. *sāḥib*
சிபார்சு	*sibārsu* < P. *sipārish*
சுமார்	*sumār* < P. *shumār*
சைத்தான்	*syttāṉ* < A. *shayt̤ān*
சொஸ்தி	*sosti* < P. *sustī*
சோக்கிரா	*cōkkirā* < P. *chōkrā*
சோதா	*cōdā* < A. *shuhadā*
டீக்கு	*ṭīkku* < H. *ṭhīk*
டோபி	*dōbi* < H. *dhobī*
தகவல்	*tahaval* < A. *dakhl*
தபா	*tapā* < A. *daf'a*
தம்	*tam* < P. *dam*
தமாஷ்	*tamāṣ* < A. *tamāshā*
தயார்	*tayār* < P. *tayār*. A. *t̤ayyār*
தரியாவத்து	*tariyāvattu* < P. *daryāft*
தருதூது	*tarutūtu* A. *taraddud*
தண்டா	*taṇḍā* < H. *daṇḍā*
தகன் (தான்)	*tahaṉ* (*tāṉ*) < H. *thān*
தாஜா	*tājā* < P. *tāẓa*
தீவாளி	*tīvāḷi* < H. *diwālī*
நகரா	*naharā* < A. *naqāra*
நபர்	*napar* < A. *nafar*

பக்கா	*pakkā* < H. *pakkā*
பசுந்து	*pasundu* < P. *pasand*
பதில்	*padil* < A. *badl*
பம்மாத்து	*pammāttu* < P. *bīmnāk?*
பல்டி	*palṭi* < H. *palṭā*
பரவா	*paravā* < P. *parwā*
பவுசு	*pavusu* < A. *fawz*
பாவத்து	*pāvattu* < P. *bābat*
பீச்சா (க்கத்தி)	*pīccā-(k-katti)* < H. *bichu'ā*+Ta.
புட்டா	*puṭṭā* < H. *būṭā*
பூரா	*pūrā* < H. *pūrā*
பைதா	*pydā* < H. *paiyā*
மத்தாப்பு	*mattāppu* < P. *māhtāb*
மைதானம்	*maidāṉam* < A. *maydān*
முஸ்திப்பு	*mustippu* < A. *musta'idd*
மைனா	*maiṉā* < H. *mainā*
யாது	*yādu* < P. *yād*
ரஸ்தா	*rastā* < P. *rāstā*
லகாய்	*lahāy* < H. *lagānā*
லடாய்	*laḍāy* < *laṛā'ī*
லாகு	*lāhu* < H. *lāgū*
லாயக்கு	*lāyakku* < A. *lā'iq*
வகையரா	*vahaiyarā* < P. *wa-ghairah* < A. *wa-ghayruhu*
வாத்து	*vāttu* < A. *bat̤*
வதலி	*vadali* < A. *faṣlī?*
ஜமா	*jamā* < A. *jam'*
ஜரூர்	*jarūr* < A. *ẓarūr*
ஜல்தி	*jaldi* < P. *jaldī*
ஜவாப்	*javāb* < A. *jawāb*
ஜாகை	*jāhai* < H. *jaga*
ஜாப்தா	*jābtā* < A. *ẓābit̤a*

ஜேப்பு *jēppu* < A. *jayb* P. *jeb*

ஜோர் *jōr* < P. zōr

ஜோடனை *jōḍaṉai* < H. *jōṛ*

ஷோக்கு *ṣōkku* < A. *shawq*

(*b*) *English words*

எனாமல் *eṉāmal* < E. *enamel*

ஏட்டு *ēṭṭu* < E. *head*

ஓட்டல் *ōṭṭal* < H. *hotel*

கலம் *kalam* < E. *column*

கலர் *kalar* < E. *colour*

கிலுட்டு *kiluṭṭu* < E. *gild, gilt*

கிளப்பு *kiḷappu* < E. *club*

குளோசு *kulōsu* < E. *close*

டிக்கட்டு *ṭikkaṭṭu* < E. *ticket*

டிராமா *ḍirāmā* < E. *drama*

டான்சு *ḍāṉsu* < E. *dance*

டிரங்கு *ṭiraṅgu* < E. *trunk*

டோல்கேட்டு *ṭōl-kēṭṭu* < E. *toll-gate*

பாசு *pāsu* < E. *pass*

பீசு *pīsu* < E *piece*

பில்லு *pillu* < E. *bill*

பிளான் *piḷāṉ* < E. *plan*

போர்டு *pōrḍu* < E. *board*

பைண்டு *paiṇḍu* < E. *bind*

நம்பர் *nambar* < E. *number*

நாட்டு *nāṭṭu* < E. *naught* (zero)

நோட்டு *nōṭṭu* < E. *note*

நைசு *naisu* < E. *nice*

மார்க்கு *mārkku* < E. *mark*

மிசி *misi* < E. *miss*

மெயில்	*meyil* < E. *mail*
மெம்பர்	*membar* < E. *member*
ரிப்பேர்	*rippēr* < E. *repair*
ராங்கி	*rāṅgi* < E. *rank*
ரோட்டு	*rōṭṭu* < E. *road*
லீவு	*līvu* < E. *leave*
லைசென்சு	*laiseṉsu* < E. *license*

(*c*) *Cognate words*

ஏப்பிராசி	*ēppirāsi* < T. *ēbhrāsi*
ஓசரம் கோசரம்	*ōsaram* *kōsaram* } < T. *kōsaramu*
சலவை	*calavai* < T. *tcalava=bleaching*
சலவை	*calavai* < T. *tcaluppa=marble*
சந்தடி	*cantaḍi* < T. *sandaḍi*
சிப்பம்	*cippam* < T. *cippamu*
சீண்டரம்	*cīṇḍaram* < T. *jīndramu*
சொட்டை	*coṭṭai* < T. *soḍḍu*
திமிசு	*timisu* < T. *dimmisa*=rammer
துரைசாணி	*turaisāṉi* < T. *dorasānī*
தெம்பு	*tembu* < T. *tempu*=bravery
பிலுக்கு	*pilukku* < T. *beḷuku*
புருடா	*puruḍā* < T. *buruḍā*
ரகளை	*rahaḷai* < K. *ragaḷe*

I received valuable assistance from Dr. S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, Head of the Department of Arabic, Persian and Urdu, in arriving at the correct Arabic, Persian and Hindustani etymons.

Works referred to in this book

1. இறையனார் அகப்பொருள் உரை, 1
2. கம்ப இராமாயணம், 24, 25
3. சங்கத்தமிழும் பிற்காலத் தமிழும், 1
4. சிந்தாமணி, 3
5. சிலப்பதிகாரம், 2, 23
6. ஞானாமிர்தம், 18
7. திருக்குறள், 3, 25
8. திருவள்ளுவமாலை, 1
9. திருவிளையாடற்புராணம், 1
10. தொல்காப்பியம், 2, 3, 32
11. நன்னூல், 2
12. பாரதிபாடல், 29
13. புறநானூறு (உ. வே. சா. பதிப்பு), 1
14. பெருந்தொகை, 2
15. ஸ்ரீமீனாட்சிசுந்தரம்பிள்ளை அவர்கள் சரித்திரச் சுருக்கம் (டாக்டர் உ. வே. சாமிநாதையர்), 21
16. Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages (Caldwell), 48
17. Hobson — Jobson, 46
18. Tamils eighteen hundred years ago, 2
19. Papers relating to the Tamil Language [P. T. L.] (Robertson), 23, 27, 36
20. Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages, 40

A storm in a tea-cup goes by the name of *amaḷi* (அமளி) in the popular parlance. *Amaḷi* is a corruption of *amalai* (அமலை);[266] (*amalai*>*amali*>*amaḷi*). In primitive warfare the soldiers used to gather round the fallen leader of the foemen on the battle-field and sing and dance in jollity. The tipsy dance of the victorious warriors was naturally tumultuous. Hence amaḷi denotes an up-roar or tumult.

The dance known as *kuravai* (குரவை) was a favourite amusement in ancient times.[267] The *kuravai* dance of the Kuṟava and the Shephered girls are vividly described in Cilappadihāram.[268] *Kuravai* as a dance is unknown at present, but the word *kulavai*, a corruption of *kuravai*, exists in the plain vocabulary of the peasantry to remind us of the glories of the past. However, *kulavai* is far too attenuated and altered to be called even the ghost of its former self. The rattling sound *ulūlu* made by women standing together, on auspicious occasions, such as *Poṅgal* and marriage, is now signified by the term *kulavai*.[269]

Naḍam (நடம்) and *naḍai* (நடை) are distinct words drawn from different sources. *Naḍam* signifies dance and *naḍai* denotes walk. The popular confusion between *naḍam*,[270] a corruption of the Sanskrit *naṭa* and *naḍai* derived from the Tamil root *naḍa* has led to the application of the term *naḍamāḍal* (நடமாடல்)[271] to walking, and *naḍamāṭṭam* (நடமாட்டம்) to the state of walking. Thus the sentence *naḍa māḍa muḍiyātu* (நடமாடமுடியாது) does not signify incapacity to dance but inability to walk.

266. தொல். பொருள். 72. உரை.

267. குரவையாவது எழுவரேனும் ஒன்பதின்மரேனும் கைகோத்தாடுங் கூத்து (சிலப். ஆய்ச்சியர்குரவை, அடியார்க்கு நல்லார் உரை).

268. குன்றக்குரவை—சிலப், 24. ஆய்ச்சியர் குரவை—சிலப். 17.

269. குலவை> குரவை. Kulavai—Chorus of shrill sounds made by women by wagging the tongue, uttered on festive occasions—Tamil Lexicon.

270. வானரங்கில் நடம்புரிவாள் இரவி—கம்ப. மிதிலைக்காட்சி. 153.

271. வலம்வந்த மடவார்கள் நடமாட முழவதிர—தேவாரம், திருஞான சம்பந்தர், திருவையாற்றுப் பதிகம்.

SECTION III

Discrimination of Synonyms

Most of the synonyms commonly so called are really expressive of different aspects or qualities of the person or object denoted by them. The terms used with reference to the king, for instance, connote different aspects of royalty. The conception of the ancient Tamils that Royalty was an institution indispensable for the welfare of society is reflected in the word *mannan* (மன்னன்) which signifies the king. *Mannan* is derived from the root *man* (மன்) which denotes stability[272]. Monarchic institution was the supreme symbol of stability and continuity in the estimation of the ancient Tamil community.

The term *kāvalan* (காவலன்) obviously denotes the person who protects his subjects from internal and external enemies. The Protector of Dharma, according to a great religious poet, is styled *kāvalan*.[273]

Vēndan (வேந்தன்) is derived from a root which contains the sense of heat or fire. *Veyil, vēku* and *vemmai* (வெயில், வேகு, வெம்மை) are derived from the same root. The king has to raise the rod with a severe brow for eradicating evil. It is significant that Tiruvaḷḷuvar employs the term *vēndu* when he refers to the king's duty of ruthlessly suppressing crimes and misdeeds in his country.[274]

Koṟṟavan (கொற்றவன்) is derived from the ultimate root *kol* (கொல்). Military prowess was an essential requisite for the king in

272. மன்னுயிர்ப் பன்மையும் கூற்றத் தொருமையும்—(புறம். 19-3). மன்னுயிர் =நிலைபெற்ற உயிர் (உரை); மன்னுவுலகத்து மன்னுதல் குறித்தோர், புறம். 165, 1.

273. மாநிலங் காவல னவான்....அறங்காப் பானல் லனோ—பெரியபுராணம், மனுநீதிகண்ட, 36.

274. கொலையிற் கொடியாரை வேந்து ஒறுத்தல்—திருக்குறள் 550.

primitive society. The preservation of the autonomy of the state and the perpetuation of royal power and prestige depended to a very large extent on the heroism of the king. The sovereign who was accorded a pre-eminent place in times of peace was expected to lead the army and bear the brunt of battle in times of war.

Similarly, the words which denote wealth appear at firsr sight to be simple synonyms but will be found on closer examination to express different aspects or concepts of wealth. The word *celvam* (செல்வம்), wealth, contains the idea of currency. A token coin or a coin that cannot be put in circulation is known as *cellā-k-kāsu* (செல்லாக்காசு) in popular parlance. The literal sense of the term *celvam* is employed by the Tamil bards to indicate the evanascence of wealth.

The idea that wealth is produced and increased by human endeavour finds expression in the word *paṇam* (பணம்), which is derived from the root *paṇ* (பண்)—to make.[275] Industry is the mother of prosperity (முயற்சி திருவினை ஆக்கும்) says the Tamil poet.[275a] The etymological sense of *paṇam* stresses the view that man is the maker of his own fortune and demolishes the theory that wealth and poverty are regulated by destiny.

The advocates of the doctrine of renunciation deprecated in strong terms the desire for wealth and condemned it as filthy lucre. Wealth was considered to be an obstacle in the way of the soul marching towards its destined goal of salvation. The desire for wealth was the 'snare of Satan' to keep the soul for ever in bondage. The poet has said "Whatsoever thing a man hath renounced, from the grief arising from that, hath he liberated himself." The doctrine which exhorted the mortals to lift their thoughts from the world of ignoble strife to the serene world of eternal bliss, was responsible for wealth being called *veṟukkai* (வெறுக்கை) — the cursed or detested thing.[276]

Māḍu (மாடு) is another term for wealth. "Among pastoral peoples wealth naturally consists in flocks and herds and wealth is counted by so many head of cattle. Thus the cattle became a kind of

275. Cf. Sanskrit, paṇa.

275a திருக்குறள், 616.

276. அந்தோ, சீ, சீ, இப்பொருளைச் செம்மையுடையோர் வேண்டுமெனச் சிந்தித் திடுவரோ மறந்தும்—குசேலோபாக்கியானம், குசேலர் வைகுந்தம், 106.

legal tender. This happened among the Indo-Europeans, and Indo-European languages have preserved many traces of this primitive state in which, cattle, a man's only wealth were used as money."[277] This, says Vendreys, is an instance of social factors influencing the evolution of vocabulary.

A careful consideration of the synonyms of the verb *col* (சொல்) — speak, will enable us to discover the distinctions existing between them.

Urai (உரை) — comment.

Aṟai (அறை) — assert.

Paṟai (பறை) — proclaim.

Paṉṉu (பன்னு) — repeat.

Kūṟu (கூறு) — speak in a logical or analytical manner.

Kuyiṟṟu (குயிற்று) — speak in a melodious voice.

Viḷambu (விளம்பு) — enlighten.

Iyambu (இயம்பு) — speak in a musical tone.

Cāṟṟu (சாற்று) — Advocate.

Miḻaṟṟu (மிழற்று) — speak in a pleasing manner.

It is probable that the three words *ī*, *tā* and *koḍu* (ஈ, தா, கொடு) were originally synonyms, but usage gradually established a semantic distinction between them. '*Ī*' (ஈ) is used when a person begs for a thing; *tā* (தா) is used when he calls for a thing; and *koḍu* (கொடு) is used when he demands a thing.[278] Thus the distinction is based upon the power and position of the person who addresses the word. The three words are assigned to the three possible positions which a man can occupy in his relations with his fellowmen, viz., inferiority, equality and superiority.

The nouns derived from these verbal roots reflect these shades of thought. *Īhai* (ஈகை) derived from the root *ī* (ஈ) is defined as 'the gift of a thing to the destitute'.[279] *Taruhai* (தருகை) derived from

277. Vendreys, Language, p. 211.

278. ஈயென்கிளவி இழிந்தோன் கூற்றே—தொல். சொல். 445.
தாவென் கிளவி யொப்போன் கூற்றே—தொல். சொல். 446.
கொடுவென் கிளவி யுயர்ந்தோன் கூறறே—தொல். சொல். 447.

279. வறியார்க் கொன்றீ வதே ஈகை—திருக்குறள், 221.

tā (*தா*) is used in connection with transactions in which one thing is exchanged for another.[280] The expression *varam-tarudal* (வரம் தருதல்) signifies the boon granted to a person in return for the penance performed by him. *Koḍai* (கொடை) formed from the root *koḍu* (கொடு) signifies a thing given to a person in power or authority. The offering made to the village deities with a view to propitiating them is aptly termed kodai for the deity is deemed to have the power of demanding it.[281]

Aṉbu (அன்பு) and *aruḷ* (அருள்) denote tenderness. Their exact signification however has been settled by literary usage. The phrase 'அருளென்னும் அன்பீன் குழவி' 'suggested the distiction in a metaphorical way.[282] The classical commentator of the *Kuraḷ* in which the phrase occurs, has explained the distinction between them which was perhaps not so clearly perceived till then. According to him the tenderness which a person feels for his relations is signified by the term *aṉbu* and the tenderness felt for the animate world beyond the circle of relations is denoted by the term *aruḷ*.[283] Thus *aruḷ* is the quality of mercy which by its gentle touch makes the whole world kin.

The distinction between *vaḻakkam* (வழக்கம்) and *paḻakkam* (பழக்கம்)[284] is identical with the distinction between custom and usage in law. Custom carries with it an idea of great antiquity. In law one of the essentials of a valid custom is that it must uniformly have existed from time immemorial. No such antiquity is necessary to prove a usage. *Paḻakkam* may therefore be defined as a uniform practice among a people or class with respect to certain matters or things.

280. *விலைப்பொருட்டால் ஊன்தருவார் இல்—திருக்குறள்*, 256.
நாலுங்கலந்துனக்கு நான்தருவேன்.. நீயெனக்குச் சங்கத்தமிழ் மூன்றும் தா—நல்வழி, காப்பு.

281. It is significant that the offerings made to the ferocious deities alone are known as koḍai. The huge quantity of rice and meat with which they are propitiated is called paḍaippu (*படைப்பு*).

282. *தொடர்பு பற்றாதே வருத்தமுற்றார் மேற்செல்வதாய அருள், தொடர் பற்றிச்செல்லும் அன்புமுதிர்ந்துழி யுளதாவதாகலின் அதனை அன்பீன் குழவியென்றார். (திருக்குறள்*, 757, *பரிமேலழகர் உரை.)*

283. *அருளுடைமை—அஃதாவது தொடர்பு பற்றாது இயல்பாக எல்லாவுயிர் கண் மேலும் செல்வதாகிய கருணை. இல்லறத்திற்கு அன்புடைமை போல இது துறவறத்திற்குச் சிறந்தமையின் முற்கூறப்பட்டது. (திருக் குறள், அதி.* 25. *தோற்றுவாய்).*

284. Vaḻakkam and Paḻakkam are also used in the sense of habit and practice respectively.

Ōsai and *oli* (ஓசை, ஒலி) have acquired by usage distinct significations. The existence of this distinction has received sufficient recognition in ancient poetry. When the saint addresses the Lord as (ஓசை ஒலியெல்லாம் ஆனாய் நீயே).[285] It is obvious that he attaches distinct sense-values to these two terms. *Ōsai* conveys the sense of noise and *oli* signifies tone. The distinction between noise and tone may be stated in the words of Max Muller: "Noises such as the rustling of leaves, the jarring of doors or the clap of thunder are produced by irregular impuless imparted to the air. Tones such as we hear from tunin forks, strings, flute, organ pipes are produced by regular periodical vibrations of elastic air."[286] It is possible that *Ōdai* (ஓதை) is a variation of *ōsa i* (ஓசை) as the palatal and dental sounds are interchangeable in Tamil.[287]

The principle of drawing a distinction between synonyms, is adopted in grammatical terminology for the the purpose of denoting differences brought into existence by literary usage, *Viyam* (வியம்) and *ēval* (ஏவல்) are synonyms signifying command.[288] When grammarians were confronted with two forms of command — a command properly so called and a polite command — they distinguished them by the terms *viyaṅgōḷ* (வியங்கோள்) and *ēval* (ஏவல்). Thus, the verb in the imperative mood is called *ēval viṉai* (ஏவல் வினை) and the verb in the optative mood came to be called *viyaṅgōḷ viṉai.*[289]

285. தேவாரம் (திருநாவுக்கரசர்), திருவையாற்றுப்பதிகம், 1.

286. Science of Language, Vol. I, p. 94.

287. āsaṉam (ஆசனம்) > ādaṉam (ஆதனம்).
vayasu (வயசு) > vayadu (வயது).

Duplicated palatals and dalatals :—

vittu (வித்து) > viccu (விச்சு)

nittam (நித்தம்) > niccam (நிச்சம்)

Tittiri (தித்திரி) > ciccili (சிச்சிலி)

It may be that ōdai (ஓதை) is the earlier form and ōsai (ஓசை) its variant.

288. வியம்-ஏவல்; மடிமை விபங்கொள்ளின் மற்றைக்கருமம், முடியாதவாறே முயலும் — பழமொழி நானூறு. 167.

289. தொல். சொல். 222 - 226.

Pahudi (பகுதி) and *pādi* (பாதி) were originally synonyms.[290] Pahudi has changed into *padi* by the elimination of the medial vowel—consonant and the augmentation of the quantity of the initial vowel by way of compensation. The root of *pahudi* is *pahu* — to split, separate or divide. Hence *pahudi* denotes a part or portion of the whole. In modern usage however *pādi* connotes an equal division or a moiety.

Sandi (சந்தி) and *andi* (அந்தி) were originally identical in sense. It is probable that *andi* is a variation of *sandi*, brought about by the elimination of the initial sibilant. A distinction between these synonyms was established in due course. *Andi* was confined to contact of time and *sandi* was generally appropriated to contact of place. The time whice marks the contact of day and night is known as *andi* — the twilight.[291] *Sandi* refers ordinarily to a place where different paths meet.[292]

Eyiṟu (எயிறு) in the sense of tooth is now confined to poetry and literary prose. *Īṟu* (ஈறு) which is probably a corruption of *eyiṟu* (எயிறு) is commonly used to denote the gums of the teeth.

Distinction between synonyms is sometimes brought about by the elevation or degradation of one of them. The terms *paḍuttal* (படுத்தல்) and *kiḍattal* (கிடத்தல்) were originally synonyms but a distinction has been established owing to the gradual deterioration of the later. *Paḍukkai* (படுக்கை) and *kiḍakkai* (கிடக்கை) formed from the roots, *paḍu* (படு) and *kiḍa* (கிட) denote the act of resting or sleeping. However, the word *kiḍattal* (கிடத்தல்) is now relegated to the vocabulary of the vulgar dialect. *Kiḍai* (கிடை) derived from the root *kiḍa* clearly indieates the degree of its degradation. Although it retains its primary sense in poetry; common usage has confined it to the sheep-fold, *āṭṭu-k-kiḍai* (ஆட்டுக்கிடை).

The sense of eating is denoted by the terms, *uṇ* (உண்) and *tiṉ* (தின்). The nouns formed from these verbal roots are *ūṇ* (ஊண்) and *tīṉi* (தீனி), *uṇavu* (உணவு), *ūṇ* (ஊண்) and *uṇḍi* (உண்டி) are synonyms.

290. பகுத்துண்டு பல்லுயிர் ஓம்புதல் — திருக்குறள், 322.
பாத்தூண் மரீஇ யவனை—திருக்குறள், 227.

291. அந்திக்கடை — Evening bazaar.

292. சதுக்கமுஞ் சந்தியும் புதுப்பூங்கடம்பும்—திருமுரு. 225.

While these words retain their original meaning *tiṉi* is now used mainly with reference to the food of animals.

The Tamil word *avā* (அவா) and the Sanskrit derivative *āsai* (ஆசை) were used originally as synonyms. Annihilation of desire is denoted by the expression *avā-v-aṟuttal* (அவாவறுத்தல்) in Tirukkuṟaḷ.[293] In the exhortation *āsai-aṟumiṉ* (ஆசை அறுமின்)[294] *āsai* is used in the same sense. Sita refers to her husband as *āsaiyiṉ-kaṉi*, (ஆசையின் கனி) — the delicious fruit of her desire.[295] But in modern usage *āsai* has acquired the meaning of improper or unwholesome desire. The distinction between the two words is clearly indicated in the compounds *pērāsai* (பேராசை) and *pēravā* (பேரவா). Avarice is denoted by the former and intense desire by the latter. It is significant that *āval* (ஆவல்) which is a contraction of *avāval* (அவாவல்)[296] continues to bear the original sense of desire or eagerness. The connections in which *āsai* is used in modern parlence, clearly mark the extent of its degeneratation. e.g., *āsai-k-kiḻatti* (ஆசைக் கிழத்தி) — concubine *Āsai-nāyahaṉ* (ஆசை நாயகன்) — illicit lover; *Āsai marundu* (ஆசை மருந்து) — Love potion or philter and so forth.

When words bearing the same sense are drawn from different languages and are current side by side, a distinction is gradually established between them. The Tamil word *eṇṇei* (எண்ணெய்) and the Sanskrit derivative *tailam* (தைலம்) are synonyms. The Sanskrit word for sesame (எள்) is *tīla* and hence the oil extracted from *tīla* is known as *taila.* But is hardly *tailam* used to denote the gingili oil in the modern speech. Scented and medicinal oils are generally signified by it.

The sanskrit term *Sthala* corrupted into *talam* (தலம்) is the equivalent of *iḍam* (இடம்) in Tamil. A distinction has gradually come into existence by which the Sanskrit derivative is confined to sacred and holy places while its Tamil equivalent continues to convey the original sense of place.

293. திருக்குறள், அதி. 37.

294. ஆசையறுமின்கள் ஆசையறுமின்கள்
ஈசனோடாயினும் ஆசையறுமின்கள்—திருமந்திரம். 2615.

295. கம்ப மாயாசனக. 212.

296. In avāval — the elimination of the first vā is due to haplology; the increase in the quantity of the intial vowel is due to compensation.

The Tamil word *Aṟivu* (அறிவு) and the Samskrit derivative *gnāṉam* (ஞானம்) are synonyms. *Aṟivan* (அறிவன்) is used in poetry in the sense of sage; *Aṟivunūl* (அறிவு நூல்) is book of knowledge. *Gnāṉam* (ஞானம்) also means knowledge; *Gnānēn-driyam* (ஞானேந் திரியம்) is the collective name for the sense organs. Usage however has restricted aṟivu to knowledge and *gnāṉam* to wisdom. Thus *aṟiñaṉ* (அறிஞன்) denotes a man of knowledge and *gnāṉi* (ஞானி) signifies a sage or wise man.

The Sanskrit derivative *vittai* (வித்தை) and the Tamil word *kalvi* (கல்வி) are synonyms. *Vidyāsālai* (வித்தியாசாலை) derived from the root of the word *vittai* and *kallūri* (கல்லூரி) derived from the root of the word *kalvi* denote the school. Similarly *vittahaṉ* (வித்தகன்) and *kaṟṟavan* (கற்றவன்) signify the learned person. Popular usage however has restricted the term *vittai* to an art or craft involving subtlety or dexterity. The magician is commonly called *vittai-k-kāraṉ* (வித்தைக்காரன்).

Borrowed words are sometimes altered in accordance with the phonetic laws and tendencies of the language in which they are adopted and made the vehicles of different thoughts. The Sanskrit word *Bāṇa* is current in Tamil in a double form viz., *pāṇam* and *vāṇam*. The labial and the labio-dental are interchangeable in Tamil and hence *pāṇam* and *vāṇam* are different from of the same word. The difference in form has led to a difference in sense. In modern usage pāṇam retains the sense of arrow but *vāṇam* is used with reference to the rocket. A display of fire works in commonly know as *vāṇa vēḍikkai* (வாண வேடிக்கை).

The Sanskrit term *jala* is employed in two forms in Tamil. *Jalam* (ஜலம்)—the tatsama for—signifies water. But *calam* (சலம்)—the tatbhava form in which the palatal surd has taken the place of the palatal sonant—is used with reference to the pus issuing from festered wounds.[297]

The words formed by attaching different particles serving the same grammatical purpose, to a common root are made the vehicles of allied but distinct thoughts. For instance from the verbal root *vēḷ* (வேள்) the nouns *vēḷvi* (வேள்வி) *vēṭkai* (வேட்கை) and *vēṭṭai* (வேட்டை) are derived. It is evident that these words have been

297. Tamil Lexicon.

formed by attaching different suffixes of the verbal noun to the common root. Though the three words contain the sense of desire, each of them is confined to a particular kind of desire. *Vēḷvi* denotes a sacrifice performed with religious zeal. *Vēṭkai* cannotes sexual desire. *Vēṭṭai* signifies hunting. *Vēṭṭuvaṉ* (வேட்டுவன்) or *vēḍaṉ* (வேடன்) is the name of the hillman whose main occupation is hunting.

The terms *yākkai* (யாக்கை) and *yāppu* (யாப்பு) are derived from the root *yā* (யா), to bind together. *Yākkai* signifies the body and *yāppu* means verse in literary language. The body has been conceived as a house built of bones and flesh, bound together by nerves and covered with skin.[298] This concept forms the basis of the term *yākkai*. In the composition of verse also a similar process is adopted. Syllables and words are arranged in a particular order, strunk together by rhyme and alliteration and made the vehicle of thought.[299] Hence metrical composition is signified by the term *yāppu*.

The words *curuḷ* (சுருள்) and *curuṭṭu* (சுருட்டு) are derived obviously from a common root containing the idea of a roll but denote different objects by a variation of termination.[300] A roll of palm leaves is called *ōlai-c-curaḷ* (ஓலைச்சுருள்) : a roll of betal leaves is known as *veṟṟilai-c-curaḷ* (வெற்றிலைச் சுருள்) and so forth. Gold or silver coins rolled in a piece of yellow cloth and presented to the newly married couple on auspicious occasions is known as *Curuḷ* in the Southern districts.[301] *Curuṭṭu* however is definitely restricted to cigar.[302] "It has passed into the English vocabulary in the form cheroot but appropriated specially to cigars truncated at both ends."[303]

The difference between *uruvu* (உருவு) and *urupu* (உருபு) was originally one of form and not of substance. *Uruvu* means form or

298. நரம்பினோ டெலும்பு கட்டி நசையினோ டிசைவொன் றிலலாக்—குரம்பை வாய்க் குடியிருந்து குலத்தினால் வாழமாட்டேன். — தேவாரம் (சுந்தரர்) திருவாரூர்ப்பதிகம். 5. (பெரிய திருமொழி. 59ம் பாட்டையும் பார்க்க)

299. Yāppu Ilakkaṇam is prosody.

300. Cf. இருள் — இருட்டு (iruḷ-iruṭṭu) — darkness.

301. curuḷ — Presents with betel given to bride and bridegroom. Loc. — Tamil Lexicon.

302. Curuṭṭu (Tamil), curuṭṭu (Malayālam), tcutta (Telugu), cutti (Kanarese). In Telugu and Kanarese the radical letter of the root is eliminated.

303. Hobson — Jobson.

symbol.[304] But *urupu* is appropriated to the post-positional particles expressive of case relations in grammatical terminology.[305] The case sign is called *vēṟṟumai urupu.*

Variations in form caused by the operation of phonotic laws such as metathesis, prothesis and euphonic nunnation have brought about variations in sense.

(1) Metathesis :—

Visiṟi (விசிறி) = fan.

Siviṟi (சிவிறி) = Syringe.

Koppuḷ-am (கொப்புளம்) = bubble.

Pokkuḷ-am (பொக்குளம்) = boil.[306]

Mukiḻ (முகிழ்) = bud.

Kumiḻ (குமிழ்) = bubble; knob.

(2) Prothesis with or without consonantal changes :—

Rājā (Skt) > *Rāsoṉ* > *arasaṉ* = King.

Rājā (Skt) > *Rāyaṉ* > *irāyaṉ* = Title of certain castes like Mādhva Brahmins.

Rakta (Skt) > *Rattam* > *irattam* = blood.

Rakta (Skt) > *Rattam* > *arattam* = a garment.

(3) Euphonic nasalisation :—

Kūḍu (கூடு) = nest.

Kūṇḍu (கூண்டு) = covering.[307]

304. உருவுகண் டெள்ளாமை வேண்டும் — திருக்குறள், 667.

305. The case—sign is called vēṟṟumai urupu in grammar.

306. Tamil Lexicon.

307. A carriage with a covering overhead is called kūṇḍu vaṇḍi and a carriage without a top is commonly known as moṭṭai vaṇḍi.

Aḍu (அடு) = approach.

Aṇḍu (அண்டு) = attach.[308]

Taḍu (தடு) = obstruct.

Taṇḍu (தண்டு) = collect rents, taxes, etc.[309]

Dimorphism due to different degrees of corruption, has served the cause of semantic ditinction :—

Praṣṭhapadā (Skt) — *Puraṭṭāsi* (Ta) = The Sixth Tamil month.

Proṣṭhapadā (Skt) — *Pūraṭṭādi* (Ta) = The twenty-fifth *nakṣatra.*

Śrāvaṇa (Skt) — *Sirāvaṇam* (Ta) = a religious ceremony.

Śrāvaṇa (Skt) — *Avaṇi* (Ta) = The fifth Tamil month.

Lakṣaṇa (Skt) — *Ilaṭcaṇam* (Ta) = beauty.

Lakṣaṇa (Skt) — *Ilakkaṇam* (Ta) = grammer.

Distinction in form between Sanskritic and Prākritic terms employed in Tamil has contributed to semantic discrimination :—

Sūnya (Skt) —*Sūṉiyam* (Ta) = Witchcraft.

Sunna (Pkt) — *Suṉṉam* (Ta) = Cipher.

Varṇa (Skt) — *varuṇam* (Ta) = colour.

Vaṇṇa (Pkt) — *vaṇṇam* (Ta) = beauty.

Ārya (Skt) — *Āriyan* (Ta) = a man of the Aryan race.

Ajja (Pkt) — *Accan* (Ta) = father.

Semantic wear and tear is responsible for the existence of several Pleonasms in the colloquial dialect of Tamil. For instance :

Cahaḍa-vaṇḍi (சகட வண்டி), cor, *cakkdā-vaṇḍi* (சக்கடா வண்டி) — country cart.

308. Usage has established a distinction between aḍu and aṇḍu. Aḍutta vīḍu is next house; Aṇḍai vīdu is adjoining house.

309. Tamil Lexicon. It is possible that taṇḍai (anklet) is the nasalised form of taḍai (obstruction).

Ūdai-vāḍai (ஊதை வாடை), cor, *ūḷaivāḍai* (ஊளை வாடை) — chill wind.

Kaḍuvan-pūnai (கடுவன் பூனை), cor, *Kaḍuvām-pūnai* (கடுவாம் பூனை) — Big cat.

Arai-nāṇ-kayiṟu (அரை நாண்கயிறு), cor, *Arunākayaṟu* (அருநாக் கயறு) — waist cord.

Cūṟā-vaḷi-k-kāṟṟu (சூறுவளிக் காற்று), cor, *Cūṟā-vaḷi-k-kāttu* (சூறுவளிக் காத்து) — whirl-wind.

In each of these compounds, the classical word which has lost its semantic value is followed and supported by its popular equivalent.

Works referred to in this book

27. திருவள்ளுவ மாலை, 50
28. திருவாசகம், 30, 38
29. திருவாய்மொழி, 19
30. திவாகரம், 13, 39
31. தேவாரம், 3, 31, 32, 45, 64, 69, 73
32. தொல்காப்பியம் (எழுத்து), 47
,, (சொல்), 35, 52, 67, 69
,, (பொருள்), 5, 7, 10, 11, 34, 38, 39, 56, 57, 64
33. நல்வழி, 67
34. நளவெண்பா, 9
35. நன்னூல், 4, 39, 46, 50, 61
36. நால்வர் நான்மணி மாலை, 38
37. நாலடியார், 31, 46
38. நீதிநெறி விளக்கம், 53, 56
39. பட்டினப்பாலை, 20, 22
40. பரிபாடல், 28
41. பழமொழி, 14, 41, 47, 60, 69
42. பாரதி பாடல், 57
43. பிங்கல நிகண்டு, 1, 7, 63
44. புலவர் புராணம், 37
45. புறநானூறு, 15. 45, 49, 52, 57, 60, 65
46. பெரிய திருமொழி, 18, 32, 73
47. பெரியாழ்வார், 16, 17, 63, 65
48. பெரியாழ்வார், 52
49. பெருங்கதை, 1, 55
50. மீனுட்சியம்மை குறம், 33
51. மூதுரை, 8
52. Burhān-i-Qāṭi, 22
53. Comparative Grammar of Dravidian languages (Caldwell), 2, 5, 11, 27, 36, 40
54. Comus (Milton), 7
55. Critical Studies in Kural (M. S. Poornalingam Pillai), 5
56. Customs and Customary Law, 21
57. Golden Bough (Fraser), (Vol. II), 5, 17, 18, 31
58. Hamlet (Shakespeare), 60
59. History of the Tamils (P. T. Srinivasa Iyyangar), 26, 28
60. Hobson-Jobson, 23, 38, 73

61. Indian ideal of marriage (Tagore), 58, 59
62. Introduction to modern Linguistics (Palmer), 29
63. Key of Knowledge, 26
64. Language (Vendryes), 10, 28, 67
65. Malayalam Dictionary (Gundert), 14, 15, 23
66. Mankind, Nation and Individual (Jesperson), 31
67. Marco Polo's Travels, 38
68. Meaning and Change of meaning (G. Stern), 36
69. Outlines of the History of the English Language (E. Classen), Foreword, ii.
70. Persia, (Malcolm), (Vol. II), 22
71. Personal ornaments of the Madrasi, M. C. C. M., Sept., (1913), 16, 17, 18
72. Principles of Human Physiology (Starling), 12
73. Semantics (Breal), 9
74. Science of Language, 69
75. Stone age in India (P. T. Srinivasa Iyyangar), 19
76. Study of words (Trench), 4, 54, 58
77. Tamils eighteen hundred years ago, 41
78. Tamil Lexicon, Vol. I to VI and supplement, 5, 6, 8, 11, 12, 13, 16, 29, 35, 37, 38, 53, 54, 56, 64, 72, 73, 74, 75

Index

Compiled by

V. JAYADEVAN

D

E

J

S